

# THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW

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## CONTENTS

	Page
Missourians in Service .....	1
HARVEY C. CLARK	
Major Benjamin Holliday .....	16
ANNA LEE BROSIUS KORN	
The Followers of Duden .....	29
WILLIAM G. BEK	
One Hundred Years of Medicine in Missouri .....	74
H. W. LOEB	
Inefficiency of Water Transportation in Missouri .....	82
RAM T. BRITTON	
Early Days on Grand River and the Mormon War .....	89
ROLLIN J. BRITTON	
Shelby's Expedition to Mexico .....	111
JOHN N. EDWARDS	
Historical Notes and Comments .....	145
Historical Articles in Missouri News- papers .....	172

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## THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW

FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER, Editor

Subscription Price \$1.00 a Year

The MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW is a quarterly magazine devoted to Missouri history, genealogy and literature. It is now being sent to fourteen hundred members of the Society. The subscription price is one dollar a year.

The REVIEW contains articles on Missouri and Missourians. These articles are the result of research work in Missouri history. The style of presentation is as popular as is permissible in a publication of this character.

Missourians are interested in their State Historical Society. The REVIEW appeals to this interest by summarizing the recent activities of the Society. It also does this of other state-wide organizations of a historical or patriotic character. Important historical happenings are also chronicled, and members of the Society are urged to make this complete for their section of Missouri. The general Missouri items include biographical sketches of individuals in public life or of historic fame.

Manuscripts and letters on all Missouri subjects of a historical or biographical nature are welcome, and will be read and decided upon with as little delay as possible.

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# THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW

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VOL. XVI, No. 1

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## MISSOURIANS IN SERVICE.

BY HARVEY C. CLARK.

*Brigadier General Harvey C. Clark, who is a native born Missourian, has served in the Missouri National Guard for thirty years in all the grades from private to Brigadier General. His first military training was a member of the Cadet Corps of Wentworth Military Academy. He organized Company B, 2nd Missouri Infantry, in 1888 and became its Captain, serving with that regiment until the outbreak of the Spanish-American War, when he was commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel of the 6th Missouri Volunteers, being the youngest Lieutenant-Colonel in the army. His regiment went to Cuba and served as part of the American Army of occupation. After the Spanish-American War he was appointed Brigadier General and reorganized the Missouri National Guard, which he has since commanded. He wrote the Military Code of the state, and when the Defense Act was under consideration in Congress in 1916, General Clark wrote the brief maintaining the right to federalize the National Guard which the Military Committee of the National House of Representatives adopted and printed in their report, recommending the act as finally passed. He commanded the Missouri troops on the Mexican Border in 1916, patrolling 145 miles of the Laredo District, which was regarded as the most troublesome on the Border. When the Missouri National Guard was called into federal service in the war with Germany, General Clark was commissioned a Brigadier General by the President and accompanied his command to Camp Doniphan. In December, 1917, with other National Guard brigadier generals, he was ordered before a board of regular army surgeons for physical*

*examination to determine his physical qualifications for overseas service. The board reported that as a result of an old case of pleurisy some eight years ago his lungs were affected and that his blood pressure was too high. He was given the option of going to the army tubercular hospital at Deming, New Mexico, or resigning. He declined to do either and was accordingly on December 26, 1917, honorably discharged. The Governor at once asked him to take charge of the Adjutant General's office and the war activities of the state, and this he did, going direct to Jefferson City from Camp Doniphan. From that date he has given his whole time to organizing and directing all military activities connected with the winning of the war, in doing everything possible for the troops in the field and their relatives at home, and in preparing for the problems of reconstruction. General Clark is a lawyer, is married, and has one son.—Editor's note.*

Since the admission to the union, Missouri has never failed to do more than its part in every war in which the country has engaged. When the President called for volunteers in 1837 to fight the Seminoles, this state sent a regiment under Colonel Gentry, of Boone county. After a long steamboat trip down the Mississippi and across the Gulf to Florida, it rendered valiant service against the Indians in the Everglades. In the Mexican War its sturdy volunteers under Colonel Doniphan, of Ray county, made the long march across the plains, the longest in history, and contributed in the largest measure to the success of our arms. In the Civil War its entire fighting strength was under arms on one side or the other. In the Spanish-American War the Missouri National Guard volunteered to a man, filling Missouri's quota under the President's call for two hundred thousand volunteers. When in the Mexican crisis of 1916 the President called out the National Guard of the United States, the Missouri National Guard was the first to reach the Rio Grande and for six months it patrolled 145 miles of the Mexican border, its 5030 officers and men making a record for efficiency which brought a special acknowledgment from the Secretary of War.

But our climax of effort and achievement was reached in the War with Germany. We furnished to the land forces of the nation after the declaration of war, 128,000 civilian soldiers

including all branches of the service, to the marine corps 3,400, and to the navy 6,910, a total of 138,310. Of this number about fifty per cent were sent abroad, the remainder serving in the various training camps on this side. The record made by Missourians on the battle fields of Europe has never been surpassed in the annals of warfare. To them we must pay the supreme tribute of a grateful people. No words can measure their heroic gallantry, the greatness of their sacrifice. We can never sufficiently show our appreciation; the ledger of our gratitude can never be balanced. Nor must we minimize the service of those who, due to the sudden termination of the war, were held on this side. They made untold sacrifices; they were taken from their homes and means of livelihood; their careers were rendered uncertain; their family ties severed. The world will never know the suffering that the complexities of our social and business life entailed in many cases when one of these boys responded to the call. Nor must we forget that the life of a soldier in the field, even it be a training camp, is one of hardship and danger. In this war more American soldiers died in camp of pneumonia and influenza than fell in battle in France.

As a people, we are prone to look for a hero, and unfortunately there is a tendency to fix our eyes upon men in high places because we see their names most frequently mentioned. There is a disposition too to unduly magnify the patriotism and service of men in high political, financial, or social position who do very ordinary things, forgetting that the very prominence of some of these men would force them to seek public commendation; and sometimes we find some of them posing in comfortable berths where they can bask in the public favor far from the scene of hardship and danger. The service of the men in the field is quite different from that of one who serves in a comfortable office building, surrounded by all of the comforts of civil life. We must not of course overlook the efforts and sacrifice of the great mass of our civilian population, particularly those in the humbler walks of life, the men and women who could not go but who un-

selfishly gave their time, their ability, and their substance to every activity having to do with the winning of the war. In one of our great cities two estates were inventoried recently in the Probate Court on the same day. One was that of a man who left property valued at more than a million dollars, consisting of lands, stocks and bonds; but not one liberty bond was found among the assets listed, although during the progress of the war the papers had published with flattering comment his purchase of two hundred thousand dollars worth of such bonds at one time. The other estate was that of a working man. He left a modest home, a few dollars in the bank, and five thousand dollars, the savings of a lifetime, in liberty bonds, and among his papers were receipts for contributions to the Red Cross and the Y. M. C. A.

In the Civil War, where the theater of operations was large, the opportunity for initiative and strategy was unlimited for the development of great military leaders, and, generally speaking, these great soldiers were popular with their men, and this rightfully meant popularity with the public. History does not record the name of a really able soldier who was not popular with his men. In the European War the fact that the ground had been fought over for four years, that every inch of it was mapped by the opposing forces, that the zone of our operations was a limited one and that Marshal Foch was in supreme command and planned every move, limited the opportunity for the development of great soldiers and magnified the responsibility and achievements of the enlisted men and officers of comparatively low rank, who really deserved the credit for what America accomplished in the winning of the war. The real hero of this war is not found among those whose names were heralded far and wide in the press; he is the common soldier of modest rank who came from the farm, the office, the shop, the factory, the store, the mine, from all the walks of life and who served as an American soldier called from civil life to defend our liberties and our institution. He numbered approximately four million; he

furnished the casualty lists; he served and suffered; he won the war.

Under the proclamation of the President the entire Missouri National Guard, consisting of 5,030 officers and men under the command of the writer, was on duty on the Mexican Border for some six months during the year 1916, patrolling 145 miles of the boundary between Mexico and the United States. The last Missouri organization had just been released from federal service when war was declared against Germany. The Governor applied to the Militia Bureau for authority to recruit all organizations of the National Guard to war strength and to organize all the new units which the state would be entitled to raise under the act of Congress approved June 3, 1916, commonly called the Defense Act, and such authority was granted. The writer as Commanding General of the National Guard was accordingly assigned the task of organizing, training, and equipping in three months a force which under the Defense Act the state was given five years to raise. The recruitment of the old and the organization of the new units progressed with the greatest rapidity and on the date of the induction of the Missouri National Guard into federal service on August 5, 1917, this state had organized every unit authorized by the Militia Bureau. When released from federal service on its return from the Mexican Border in the early part of 1916, the Guard consisted of four regiments of infantry, one battalion of field artillery, a signal corps company, a troop of cavalry, a field hospital, and an ambulance company aggregating 4,447 officers and men. Between the date of the declaration of war on April 6, 1917, and that of induction into federal service on August 5, 1917, this force was increased to six regiments of infantry, two regiments of field artillery, a signal corps battalion, a battalion of engineers, two field hospitals, two ambulance companies, a motor supply train, and a troop of cavalry with an aggregate strength of 14,756 officers and men.

The entire National Guard was mobilized on the state rifle range near Nevada on August 5, 1917, under my com-

mand, and remained there under the training of its own officers for some two months. It consisted of the following units:

- 1st Missouri Infantry (St. Louis).
- 2nd Missouri Infantry (Comprising companies from Carthage, Butler, West Plains, Lamar, Searcoie, Clinton, Jefferson City, Aurora, Webb City, Joplin, Nevada, Peirce City, Lebanon and Springfield).
- 3rd Missouri Infantry (Comprising companies from Kansas City, Liberty and Boonville).
- 4th Missouri Infantry (Comprising companies from Tarkio, Mound City, Weston, St. Joseph, Trenton, Chillicothe, Carrollton, Hannibal, Caruthersville, Bethany, Kirksville, Columbia, Sedalia and Louisiana).
- 5th Missouri Infantry (St. Louis).
- 6th Missouri Infantry (Comprising companies from Cape Girardeau, Sikeston, Dexter, Poplar Bluff, Kennett, Campbell, Doniphan, Cabool, Seymour, Caruthersville, Sedalia, Richmond, Lexington, St. Joseph, Willow Springs and Carterville).
- 1st Missouri Field Artillery. (St. Louis and Kansas City).
- 2nd Missouri Field Artillery. (Kansas City and Independence).
- 1st Battalion Missouri Signal Corps (Kansas City).
- 1st Battalion Missouri Engineers. (Kansas City).
- 1st Missouri Motor Supply Train. (St. Louis).
- Missouri Field Hospital No. 1. (St. Joseph)
- Missouri Field Hospital No. 2. (Kansas City).
- Missouri Ambulance Company No. 1. (Kansas City).
- Missouri Ambulance Company No. 2. (Chamois).
- Troop B, Missouri Cavalry. (St. Louis).

On September 28th the troops entrained for Camp Doniphan, Oklahoma, and were there consolidated with the Kansas National Guard, the combined National Guard of Missouri and Kansas constituting the 35th Division, this state furnishing about two-thirds and Kansas one-third of its strength. Upon arrival at Camp Doniphan the 1st Missouri Infantry and the 5th Missouri Infantry, from St. Louis, were consolidated under the name of the 138th Infantry. The 4th Mis-

souri Infantry, from various towns in North Missouri, was consolidated with the 3rd Kansas and designated the 139th Infantry. The 3d Missouri Infantry, largely of Kansas City, and the 6th Missouri Infantry, from all sections of the state, were consolidated as the 140th Infantry. The 2nd Missouri Infantry, from Southwest Missouri, was disbanded and formed into three Machine Gun Battalions, designated the 128th, 129th and 130th Machine Gun Battalions, and its headquarters and supply company constituted a Trench Mortar Battery. The designation of the 1st Missouri Field Artillery, (St. Louis), was changed to the 128th Field Artillery, and that of the 2d Missouri Field Artillery (Kansas City), consolidated with Troop B, was changed to the 129th Field Artillery. The two Missouri Field Hospitals and two Ambulance Companies were designated the 110th Sanitary Train. The Missouri Engineers Battalion was consolidated with the Kansas Battalion and designated the 110th Engineers. The Missouri Supply Train became the 110th Motor Supply Train.

The training of the National Guard composing the 35th Division at Camp Doniphan was under its own National Guard officers, and the wonderful record it made in France is due solely to the efforts of the citizen soldiers of Missouri and Kansas who composed it.

The division remained at Camp Doniphan until April 12, 1918, when it moved to Camp Mills, New York, and embarked for Europe on April 25, 1918, arriving at Liverpool on May 7th. From England the troops were moved to France, landing there May 17, 1918. After a brief period of training in France, the Division was moved to the front line trenches in the Vosges sector. After a long stay in the trenches it was attached to the contingent of the American Army which participated in the St. Mihiel advance, forming a part of the reserve. Following the reduction of the St. Mihiel salient it was moved to the Argonne and for six days participated in the fiercest fighting of this, the greatest and decisive battle of the war. The 35th Division was the razor edge of the advancing American wedge; it bore the brunt, and four picked

divisions of the Prussian Guard, the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th, were thrown in its way only to be routed. It went over the top at 5:30 a. m., on September 26, 1918, and on October 1st, after six days of the most desperate fighting of the war, it had captured every objective from Vanquois Hill to Exermont, advancing a distance of some eleven miles over a terrene mined and fortified with barbed wire and concrete as strongly as Prussian ingenuity knew how to defend it. The casualties of the Division in this engagement were 7,854, of which number 675 Missourians were killed and 4,561 wounded. Thirty-five Missouri infantry officers of the Division were killed and 85 wounded, a percentage of forty, which was the largest relative loss among officers in any division in the American Army, a mute testimonial to the bravery and matchless gallantry of the National Guardsmen who did not fear to lead their men where death was taking its heaviest toll. 640 Missouri enlisted men were killed and 4,476 wounded, or 35 per cent of the Missourians in the Division, conclusive evidence of the nature of the task assigned them and their heroic achievement. Thus the citizen soldiery of Missouri and Kansas met and defeated the professional troops of the nation, which stands as the foremost exponent of professional militarism. The heroic gallantry and heroism of the Missouri and Kansas National Guardsmen who fought at the Argonne were commended alike by friend and foe in the strongest terms language can employ. The division returned to the United States in the early part of May, 1919, and was finally discharged from federal service at Camp Funston during that month.

A letter from one of the Missouri officers to the writer of this article, mailed after the Argonne fight, contains this description of the conduct of the Missourians:

"When the history of our division is written, every Missourian will be proud of the fact that he lives in a state which can furnish such soldiers to the world. No words can tell you of the heroic conduct of our men and of their uncomplaining cheerful suffering and magnificent gallantry as they faced, again and again, the

awful fire of the Hun machine guns and again and again charged through the German lines and put to rout the picked troops of the enemy. We have read of the grim courage and incomparable spirit of Napoleon's Old Guard, but nothing could have surpassed the matchless bravery and cool efficiency of the Missouri and Kansas boys as they poured out their blood upon this awful field. I thought I knew what esprit de corps was but I never quite realized it until I witnessed the devoted comradeship of these National Guardsmen grimly determined that the record made by the Missouri National Guard in its acid test should never be equalled. I know how you will feel when you read the casualty lists because you will recognize the names of scores with whom you have served, and when you receive this letter you will know that I saw many of them go down, faithful to the last and dying with a heroism which has never been surpassed on any battle field in the world."

Much has appeared in the press in reference to the casualties of this division and the handicap under which it fought, and it may not be amiss to mention the facts here. The confidential report of the Inspector General, Brigadier General Hugh A. Drumm, U. S. Army, severely criticised Major General Peter E. Traub, U. S. Army, who commanded the division, for absenting himself from his headquarters at the same time his chief of staff was absent, thus losing contact and control over the units of the division; Colonel George A. Wiczorek, a regular army officer, Chief Signal Officer, for failure to maintain the lines of communication; and Brigadier General L. G. Berry, of the U. S. Army, who commanded the artillery brigade, for failure to co-operate with and make use of the air service. The report further criticised the change in brigade and regimental commanders on the eve of the battle, thus placing in positions of the gravest responsibility officers who were not familiar with the troops and who had no opportunity to acquaint themselves with the terrain, plans, etc. A few days prior to the Argonne battle, Brigadier General Charles A. Martin, of the Kansas National Guard, who commanded the 70th Brigade, was, without the assignment of any cause therefor, relieved of his command and his place given Colonel Kirby Walker, a cavalryman in the regular army, who was without experience in handling a large infantry command

and who had never been under fire. General Martin had served as a Major in the 20th Kansas (Funston's regiment), for two years in the Philippines and made a very fine record in the combat service of that famous regiment. He had served, since the Spanish-American War, for more than twenty years as an officer in the Kansas National Guard and was at the time of his appointment by the President as Brigadier General, the Adjutant General of Kansas. He is a man of exceptional ability, faultless habits, fine character, and was universally regarded as one of the very finest officers in the service. He had organized and trained the brigade which he commanded at Camp Doniphan, had accompanied it to France and it was generally recognized as one of the finest combat units in the American Army. He was the only officer in the Division who had ever commanded a force of consequence in actual warfare. As subsequent events disclosed, this change from an able and experienced officer who knew and was loved by his men and was familiar with the terrain and plan of campaign to one without such experience, was most unfortunate. The commanding officers of two of the regiments were changed on the eve of the battle, both being replaced by cavalry officers of the regular army. One of them took command the evening before the battle and did not have opportunity to even become acquainted with the officers of the regiment. The other wandered about over the field looking for the regiment he had been assigned to command, but not knowing its officers or men by sight or just where it was, in the confusion of the engagement did not find it for two or three days. All of this of course made very difficult the efforts of our officers and men, but notwithstanding the lack of leadership higher up, they took every objective and were holding Exermont, the extreme front of the American line, when they were relieved. General Drumm's report pays them in terse military language this tribute pregnant with meaning:

"The fighting spirit and bravery of officers and men was excellent."

One National Guard unit, the First Missouri Signal Corps Battalion stationed at Kansas City, commanded by Major Ruby D. Garrett, was attached to the Rainbow Division consisting of National Guard units selected from the National Guard of twenty-seven states. The record made by this Division, (the 42nd), was one of the most remarkable of any American troops in France, and the Missouri contingent was considered one of its very best. For gallantry in action Major Garrett was cited and promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel.

Shortly after the mobilization of the National Guard and the regular army the government began the organization of another great force under the provisions of the Selective Service Act. The first contingent of drafted men from Missouri was sent to Camp Funston in September, 1917, and together with the men from Kansas, Nebraska, South Dakota, Colorado, Arizona and New Mexico were organized into the 89th Division trained by Major General Leonard Wood. Its personnel drawn from the flower of the citizenship of the great Middle West was the very finest. Its officers were in large part without previous military training other than that obtained in the excellent course given in the Officers Training Camps which preceded the mobilization of the selective service men, but so well did they learn the art of war that the Division was sent across in June, 1918, its last units arriving in France, July 10, 1918, and it became one of the very finest fighting units in the American Expeditionary Forces. It was at St. Mihiel and in the battle of the Argonne, in both of which engagements it conducted itself with magnificent gallantry, reflecting the very greatest credit upon the citizen soldiery of the great Middle West. In the St. Mihiel offensive it was the right division of the 4th American Corps and advanced a distance of twenty-one kilometers capturing the towns of Beney, Essey, Boullionville, Pannes and Xammes. On October 7th the division was relieved in the Pannes-Flirey-Limey sector by the 37th Division and was moved by bus to the Recicourt area and became part of the 1st Army Reserve. On October 12th it moved forward in the rear of

the 32nd Division as part of the 5th American Corps in the Argonne offensive and on October 20th went into the line just North of the Kriemhilde defense positions. It attacked on November 1st and continued in the assault until the armistice was signed, when it had crossed the Meuse north of Stenay. On November 24th it began its march into Germany as part of the army of occupation and was assigned the area bounded by Kreise of Prum, Bitburg, Trier and Saarburg with division headquarters at Kyllburg. During its service it captured 5,061 prisoners, 127 pieces of artillery, 455 machine guns and advanced thirty-six kilometers against the enemy. Its members were awarded 8 Congressional Medals of Honor, 119 Distinguished Service Crosses and 55 Croix de Guerre. Its casualties were 8,813, of which 1,419 were fatalities. While men from this state were in every unit in this Division, the 354th Infantry, the 356th Infantry, the 432nd Field Artillery, the 314th Signal Corps Battalion and the 314th Engineers contained a preponderance of Missourians, and these were practically Missouri units. The wonderful record made by this Division composed of officers and men of the Middle West, called suddenly from civil life, explodes the old theory of the advocates of professional militarism that the making of a soldier requires years of training and demonstrates beyond all question the superior worth of the civilian soldier. This division was the superior from every standpoint of the professional soldiery of Germany on the day it landed in Europe and the Prussian mercenaries went down before it like grain before the reaper. The Division returned to this country early in June, 1919, and was discharged from the federal service during the same month.

Another Missouri unit which acquitted itself with great credit was the 12th Engineers, organized largely from railroad men in the city of St. Louis.

Missouri was represented in practically every company, battery, corps or contingent in the American Army, and this state contributed its full quota to the Officers Reserve Corps, Navy, Regular Army, Aviation Service, Marine Corps, the

Engineers, Railroad Troops and Sanitary Units. Missourians fought with the marines at Chateau Thierry; their blood was poured out on every field in France and Belgium where American troops were engaged. The conduct and bearing of our officers and men in all of these organizations were such as to reflect the greatest credit upon the state. Hundreds of them have been decorated for acts of conspicuous daring and gallantry. Special mention has been made of the units made up in large part of Missourians because the data as to these is at hand, and that relating to other organizations of the army, the navy and the marine corps is not available at this time. For obvious reasons this must be obtained from official sources at Washington. Later, when the official data has been compiled and furnished the state it will be possible to publish in detail the service and accomplishment of all Missourians in all the branches of the service.

The record of all these young men is the priceless heritage of our state. They were our very best. So long as time lasts we will mourn for those who made the supreme sacrifice, and the people of Missouri should never cease in their efforts to show appreciation of the sacrifices made by those who served in the field, at home or abroad. Let us not be content with expressions of gratitude; let us see to it that the material loss of every Missourian who answered his country's call is reduced to the minimum. He is entitled to every consideration as long as he lives; let us not withhold it. He must face problems which he would not otherwise have been called upon to meet; let us make them easy for him.

In an effort to show the appreciation of the state in a sentimental and substantial way, the following military legislation was enacted by the last General Assembly as an expression of our gratitude and an indication of the purpose to continue to do everything possible which conditions as they develop may suggest.

*Soldiers' and Sailors' Employment Commission:* An act constituting the Adjutant General and the State Labor Commissioner a commission to assist discharged Missouri soldiers,

sailors and marines in obtaining employment. Provision is made for publishing the name of any employer who refuses to reinstate in his former position any discharged Missouri soldier, sailor or marine. The general office of the commission is in the Adjutant General's office at Jefferson City. Branch offices are maintained at St. Louis, Kansas City, St. Joseph and elsewhere. Ten thousand dollars was appropriated for the purpose of carrying out the act.

*County Memorials:* An act authorizing the County Court in each county and the municipal body in each city in the state to erect a suitable memorial building or monument or to place a suitable bronze tablet in some public building at the county seat dedicated to the memory of the soldiers, sailors and marines furnished by the county or city in the war with Germany. One hundred and thirty thousand dollars was appropriated for this purpose. Under the provisions of the act the county clerk is required to compile and preserve in his office a complete record of each soldier, sailor or marine who served from such county or city in the war with Germany.

*Soldiers and Sailors Memorial Hall:* An act dedicating both floors of the East corridor of the new capitol building to the purpose of a soldiers and sailors memorial hall and directing the Adjutant General to display therein in appropriate cases the battle flags carried by all Missouri units in the Seminole War, the Mexican War, the Civil War, the Spanish-American War, on the Mexican Border and in the war with Germany, together with all war trophies and relics connected with the service of Missourians in the various wars in which troops from this state have served. Fifteen thousand dollars was appropriated for this purpose.

*Memorial in France:* The act provides for the appointment of a commission of seven Missouri soldiers who served with combat troops in France to locate and erect a memorial in France to the memory of Missourians who there fell. Twenty-five thousand dollars was appropriated for this purpose.

*History and Biographical Record of Missouri soldiers, sailors and marines who served in the war with Germany:* The act authorizes the Adjutant General to compile and publish a record of the participation of Missouri units or units composed in large part of Missourians in the war with Germany, together with a biography of every Missouri soldier, sailor and marine who served. Provision is made for the free distribution of copies of this history and record to all libraries, public schools, etc., in the state. It is estimated that this work will contain about six volumes. Twenty-five thousand dollars was appropriated for this purpose.

*Medals for Missouri soldiers, sailors and marines:* The act authorizes the Adjutant General to procure and present to each Missouri soldier, sailor and marine who served in the war with Germany an appropriate bronze medal as a slight token of the gratitude of the state to its sons who served. The act likewise authorizes the presentation of a medal to each Missouri Volunteer who served in the war with Spain and to each member of the Missouri National Guard who served on the Mexican Border in 1916. Twenty-five thousand dollars was appropriated for this purpose.

*Officers and Employees of Workmen's Compensation Commission:* The act provides that all officers and employees of the Missouri Workmen's Compensation Commission shall be honorably discharged soldiers, sailors and marines. Provision is made for four commissioners at a salary of \$4,000.00, a secretary at \$3,500.00, a surgeon, clerks, stenographers, etc.

*Reorganization of the National Guard:* The act revises the military code of the state and provides for the reorganization of the National Guard with the same status it had when inducted into the federal service on August 5, 1917. Two hundred and sixty-five thousand dollars was appropriated for the support and maintenance of the National Guard during the biennial period.

MAJOR BENJAMIN HOLLIDAY  
1786-1859.

FOUNDER OF MISSOURI INTELLIGENCER AND BOONE'S LICK  
ADVERTISER.

BY ANNA LEE BROSIUS KORN.

Benjamin Holliday was born in Spottsylvania county, Virginia, June 8, 1786. He was of English Cavalier and Scotch descent. He was the son of Benjamin Holliday, who was a son of Captain Joseph Holliday of the American Continental Line, American Revolution, and Elizabeth Lewis. His mother was Sarah Hampton of the distinguished Hampton family of Virginia, a daughter of George Hampton and Mary Colson, heiress.

His great-grandfather was Captain John Holliday, Sr., gentleman, founder of the Holliday family of Virginia, Maryland and North Carolina.<sup>1</sup> His home known as Belfonte, Spottsylvania county, contained several thousand acres of land so that he bequeathed several hundred acres of land to each of his nine children, namely: William, John, Daniel,

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<sup>1</sup>The Hollidays are descended from Sir Walter Holliday, who was knighted by King Edward of England, to whom arms were granted in 1470, and was styled the "Master of Revels" to King Edward IV. He was youngest son of last Laird of Covehead, Scotland, Chieftain of Annendale. He was succeeded by his son Henry. Henry had four sons, viz.:

1. William of Stroud.
2. Henry of Minchen—Hampton, Gloucester, England.
3. Edward of Rodborough.
4. John of From Hall.  
Thomas Holliday  
and  
John Holliday.

It is from him the Hollidays in states named above descend. See Geo. McKenzie's *Colonial Families in U. S.*, Heltman's *Officers of the Revolution*, and *Hadens Genealogy*.

Joseph, Benjamin, Elizabeth, Winnifred, Sarah, and Susanah. He was Captain of Virginia Rangers in 1702.<sup>2</sup>

When a small boy Benjamin Holliday removed with his parents to Clark county, Kentucky, where he grew to manhood. He was educated in the best schools and at the age of eighteen taught school for several years. He was complimented and rewarded for penmanship at writing school and did public acts of service for people in his vicinity.<sup>3</sup>

His father, Benjamin Holliday, called "Gamester Ben" because of his love for race horses and his fame for conducting races in Kentucky in an early day, traded the present site of Lexington, Kentucky, for a race horse called Packolet. At the same time he purchased a fine stallion which he installed in the Holliday stables. As this animal was considered unsafe to be at large he gave explicit instructions to young Benjamin on leaving the house that the stallion should not be loosed from the barn. Upon his return, to his astonishment, the stallion was running to and fro in the lot. Disregard for his instructions so infuriated the parent that he struck young Benjamin twice across the back with his riding whip as he rebuked him for disobedience. This act young Benjamin resented and over it left home to which he never returned in his father's life time.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Captain Joseph's issue: (1) Lt. John; (2) 2nd Lieutenant Lewis; (3) Major James; (4) Jerminia; (5) William, father of Ben Holliday of national fame; (6) Winnifred; (7) Stephen, who married Ann Hickman; (8) Benjamin, who married Sarah Hampton; (9) Major Joseph, who married Cousin Agnes Holliday, daughter of Uncle Benjamin. Their son John married Nancy McCune and represented Lafayette county, Missouri, in the General Assembly in 1858. Was Coal Oil Inspector, Member of School Board and Real Estate firm of Holliday and Buckley in Saint Louis. Had a son, Samuel, attorney in city. (10) Elizabeth; and (11) Thomas Holliday.

Jerminia Holliday married Isaac Graves, connected with the Graves who founded Chillicothe and pioneer of Columbia. Captain John's will recorded same county in 1742.

<sup>3</sup>Will of Mrs. George Hampton recorded in Frederick county, Virginia. See *Hampton Genealogy* by Dr. J. L. Miller, Thomas, West Virginia.

<sup>4</sup>Benjamin Holliday and Sarah Hampton were parents of large family. Major Benjamin and Stephen were only ones so far known who came to Missouri. Stephen was named after Uncle Stephen, son of Captain Joseph who married Ann Hickman.

Benjamin Holliday was of an adventurous nature and a trader. Enlisting the aid of young Cooper he built and operated a chain of flat boats between Louisville and New Orleans, building up a lucrative business which he followed for several years, while the Coopers, equally as adventurous, departed for Missouri to establish homes. In 1810, at the time a company of friends and relatives were forming to join the Cooper's in the new Missouri territory, Benjamin Holliday sold his boat line interests and with his sister Mary Colson and husband Augustus Cave Davis and children, he came to the Boone's Lick Country and with fifty families established a settlement. After assisting in the erection of quarters for the abode of his sister's family, the desire for navigable trade again possessed him. Accordingly in 1811 he went to Saint Louis, loaded his boat with supplies and proceeded to New Orleans.<sup>5</sup>

He got as far as New Madrid, Missouri, when he found himself in the convulsions of a great earthquake accompanied with what seemed to be "the discharge of heavy artillery, while every few minutes the surface of the river rose and fell." So great were the conflicting currents, he expected each moment the boat would be dashed to pieces; years seemed to pass in his moments of peril, and when at last the subterranean disturbances quieted he docked for inspection and repairs, then proceeded to New Orleans where he sold his supplies.<sup>6</sup> On his return to Boone's Lick he found the colonists terror-stricken because of the prevalence of hostile Indians. Hasty preparations were begun for the erection of forts in which to take refuge. When completed, Holliday took refuge with his sister's family in Cooper's fort, where many frightful experiences and hardships were shared with other occupants of the fort while combating a common foe.<sup>7</sup> About this time companies of Missouri Militia were being organized to subdue

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<sup>5</sup>The Cooper's, Davis, Clarks, Calloways, Colson's, Cave and Boone families were old friends in Kentucky and many intermarried.

<sup>6</sup>These early experiences are traditional tales treasured by the descendants.

<sup>7</sup>Missouri records of 1812 are sparse and incomplete.

the Indians. Benjamin Holliday enlisted in Captain James Calloway's Company and later became a Major in the Militia and experienced many bloody contests from 1812 to and including 1814. It seemed too bad this war should repress progress and break up a settlement of colonists who were socially united as one big family, by the indentivity of their language, interest, laws and customs, and the ties of a common kindred; and still more by a common participation in the vicissitudes of peril and suffering through which they passed, yet it did—many going to other sections. Not so with Benjamin Holliday. It could be said of him as it was of Cavalier Bayard. He was "without fear and without reproach."

Having undaunted faith in the future of the new territory, the productiveness of the soil, the scenic grandeur of her majestic hills, beautiful valleys, fresh crystal streams, and flowing fountains he felt nature supplied all essentials for a home and prosperity for those willing to labor and to wait.

He and his brother-in-law, Augustus Cave Davis, and family remained, and on the establishment of the seat of government at Cole's fort in 1816, purchased land of the Government known as New Madrid or Earthquake certificates of land.<sup>8</sup>

On July 19, 1818, occurred one of the early marriages of Howard county at Old Franklin at which Benjamin Holliday officiated as best man at the marriage of his niece, Miss Elizabeth Davis, to Wesley Hines.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Augustus Cave Davis and wife had ten children: Elizabeth; Martin H.; Simpson Owen, founder of Sulphur Springs, Texas; Sylvester Heiskell; Pleasant I.; Albert Gallatin, captain in Mormon war and captain of Missouri Militia under General John B. Clark, Howard county, 1844, founded Hamilton, Missouri, 1855; Thomas Colson; Augustus Cave; Tolbert Jefferson, and Wade Hampton Davis, all dead. See *Caldwell County History*, 1886.

<sup>9</sup>Marriage copied from "Early Marriages of Howard County," recorder's office at Fayette. Judge John Hines, of Polo; Matilda, wife of Major Higgins of Hamilton, Caldwell county; Elizabeth Beckett, of Polo; and Matison Hines, pioneer of Forest Grove, Oregon, are children of this union.

It was in this year that the county seat was established in Franklin. Benjamin Holliday purchased lot 49 of Abraham Barnes and erected a frame building on half of it, for the purpose of starting a newspaper. Accordingly he paid a visit to Kentucky to induce his young brother, Stephen Holliday, who had mastered the art of printing in Kentucky and had had newspaper experience, to come to Franklin and assist in the publication of the same. Giving his consent they proceeded to Louisville, where they purchased a printing outfit including a Ramage Press and brought it to Franklin and installed it in the new building.

Benjamin Holliday named the paper *The Missouri Intelligencer and Boone's Lick Advertiser*, after the settlement to which he came and the sheet which was to give intelligence concerning it.<sup>10</sup>

By this means he hoped to stimulate emigration. About this time Nathaniel Patten, a late arrival in the village, also a printer by trade, heard of the intended publication of the paper so he sought an interview with Benjamin Holliday and being without employment and of limited means begged to be allowed to buy a third interest in same on installments.

Holliday desiring to help him, for he was in poor health, agreed to a sale of a third interest in the printing establishment and household effects, for all were bachelors and cooked and lived in the back room of the office. At the end of a year Patten was in such financial straits that he was forced to sell

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<sup>10</sup>As no history of Benjamin Holliday's achievements has heretofore been given to the public, no censure is placed on past writers for eulogies given this first paper as all they have had to go by were the files of the State Historical Society of Missouri at Columbia. As no accurate account of the "call to existence" of the *Missouri Intelligencer* has been given to the public, the object of this article is to stress the omissions of history and to urge that some of the wrongs that have entered history be righted. The responsibility for the correction of misrepresentations in history as to Nathaniel Patten being a founder of the paper revert to the living descendants of Benjamin Holliday, who are Mrs. Eliza Price, grand-daughter, and Mrs. Anna Brosius Korn, a second great-niece.

his third interest back to his benefactor as following bill of sale shows.<sup>11</sup>

Nathaniel Patten—Bill of Sale.

Know all by these presents that I, Nathaniel Patten of County of Howard and Territory of Missouri for and in consideration of the sum of four hundred and fifty dollars to me in hand paid by Benjamin Holliday, Junior, of the County and Territory aforesaid, the receipt of which is hereby acknowledged, have this day bargained and sold to him, the said Benjamin Holliday, Junior, all the right, title, claim, interest or demand I have in the printing establishment of the Missouri Intelligencer published in Franklin, including all the printing apparatus and stock now belonging to the same, consisting of the following articles, to wit:

One printing press, 250 lbs. puma type, 125 lbs. of French cannon, 81 lbs. bourgeois type, 53 lbs. pica type, 5 lines puma type, 4 lbs. German text on double pica body, 2 lbs. long Primer Flowerly, No. 7, two line of Primer horses, 6 lbs. Columbia Black stoep, 1½ lbs. two lines of Brevier shaded, 10 feet single brass rule, 5 feet double brass rule, 3¼ lbs. scab board, 3 composing sticks, 5 pair of printing copy, 3 do. stands, 5 galleys, 3 chairs, bank, 3 type boards, 1 keg of printing ink, newspaper, etc., and I do, in consideration of the above named sum, relinquish to the said Holliday all claims to any money that may now be owing to the said establishment, and I do likewise, in consideration of the above named sum of four hundred and fifty dollars, relinquish to the said Holliday all the property and interest I have in a quantity of household and kitchen furniture, consisting of the following articles to wit:

<sup>11</sup>The bills of sale copied from Book G, page 388 to 391, inclusive, County Recorder's office at Fayette, are offered proofs, together with tales current in the family, with genealogical references.

Benjamin Holliday assumed the control and management of the paper continuously from its founding in 1819 until he sold it July 18th, 1822.

At times during his absence John Payne and John Treadwell Cleveland were employed to assist Stephen on the paper, but they at no time owned any part in it during Holliday's ownership of it. Doubtless their names appeared on it, much the same way as certain ones do now at the head of sporting or society news columns in modern papers.

Mrs. Eliza Price has a leather pocket ledger which bears this inscription: "Presented to Stephen Holliday by his friend John Treadwell Cleveland—Oct. 1823." A note in same shows where Stephen Holliday paid a week's board to Mrs. William Turner, January 13, 1823. Mrs. Price also has letters written by Benjamin Holliday and old certificates of land patent, granted to him by the Government, one in 1825 to farm on which he died.

Two tables and bed stead, blankets  $\frac{1}{2}$  doz., dishes  $\frac{1}{2}$  doz., knives and forks,  $\frac{1}{2}$  doz., 1 coffee mill, 1 coffee pot, 1 teapot, 2 ovens, 3 pots, 1 gridiron, 2 tin kettles, 1 set cups and saucers, 1 tea kettle, 2 pails, 1 looking glass, 1 pair brass candle sticks,  $\frac{1}{2}$  doz. chairs. In witness thereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal this 12th day of June, 1820.

The word Junior, erased in second line of first page hereof, before signing and sealing and delivered in the presence of Gray Bynum Clerk and Hampton L. Boone.<sup>12</sup>

NATHANIEL PATTEN (Seal).

Benjamin Holliday was a man of means else he could not have borne so great an undertaking and lived independent of the income of his paper, paid employes and engaged in other lines of business. He continued sole owner of the paper until he sold the entire establishment to Nathaniel Patten, July 18, 1822.

In May, 1822, Nathaniel Patten sought to purchase the printing establishment and as Benjamin Holliday was going to New Orleans he gave Stephen Holliday power of attorney to act for him. The transaction follows:

Fayette, Missouri.

Benjamin Holliday

to

Stephen Holliday<sup>13</sup>

Power of Attorney.

Know all men by these presents that I, Benj. Holliday of Howard County in the State of Missouri, for various good causes and considerations, one thereunto moving, have nominated, constituted and appointed my brother, Stephen Holliday, in fact for me and in my name to transact and do the following business to wit:

<sup>12</sup>Hampton L. Boone was grandfather of Judge Hampton Boone Watts, of Fayette, whose daughter was Evelyn Boone, who married Benjamin Watts, nephew of Augustus Cave Davis, who was owner of 4,000 acres of land between Boonville and Fayette, and was killed in his park by an elk September 14, 1856. Residence across from Central College.

<sup>13</sup>Cyrus Kurtz Holliday, founder of Topeka, Kansas, and the Santa Fe Railroad, was a cousin to Stephen and Benjamin. Stephen Holliday returned to Kentucky in spring of 1824 and died the following spring. William Holliday founded Hollidaysburg, Pennsylvania, and was massacred by the Indians. A monument was erected in the place and unveiled to his memory. The Hollidays were founders and builders.

Whereas Nathaniel Patten has made application to me to purchase my printing establishment and the north half of lot 49 in the town of Franklin, as laid off by the Commissioners appointed to locate the "Seat of Justice" of Howard County, and whereas, it may not be convenient for me personally to perfect said sale and conveyance of the said property, now therefore, I do hereby authorize and empower my said attorney, in fact for me and in my name, to sell everything connected with it and of the said house and lots together with the appurtenances and improvements thereunto belonging upon the following conditions to wit:

If the said Nathaniel Patten should at any time on or before the twenty-fourth day of July, next, tender and pay over to my said attorney, in fact all such sums of money as he is now due me which I hereby authorize him to receive and receipt for the same, then in that case, to make the sale on a legal conveyance as aforesaid, otherwise this power of attorney to be void and of no effect.

In testimony thereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my seal this twenty-first day of May in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and twenty-two.

BENJAMIN HOLLIDAY.<sup>14</sup>

State of Missouri, Howard County.

Before me Augustus Storers, a Justice of the Peace aforesaid county, on the twenty-first day of May, 1822, personally came Benjamin Holliday who acknowledges the foregoing power of attorney by him executed to Stephen Holliday to be his own voluntary act and deed for the purpose therein mentioned given under my hand and seal the day and year stated above.

AUGUSTUS STORERS.

State of Missouri, County of Howard.

Recorded the foregoing instrument of writing on the eighteenth day of July, eighteen hundred and twenty-two.

GRAY BYNUM, Clerk.

On July 18, 1822, the deal was closed and Nathaniel Patten became the lawful owner of the Missouri Intelligencer. The bill of sale follows:

<sup>14</sup>Benjamin Holliday was own cousin to Benjamin Holliday of National fame, founder of pony express across the plains and owner of Stage Line. He was also owner of Northern Pacific Transportation Company engaged in running steamships between ports. He organized the Oregon Central Railroad Company of Portland in 1874. East Portland addition bears his name. He left a million and a half dollars, which was in litigation for years, the Supreme Court deciding in favor of Benjamin as against Joseph. He ran a "Tavern" in Weston, Missouri, about 1837, was Aide-de-camp to Colonel Doniphan in the Mormon War.

Fayette Missouri, July 23rd, 1822.

Benjamin Holliday

to

Nathaniel Patten.

This indenture made this eighteenth day of July one thousand eighteen hundred and twenty-two between Benjamin Holliday formerly of Howard County and State of Missouri by Stephen Holliday his legally authorized and lawfully constituted attorney, in fact of the one part, and Nathaniel Patten of the County and State aforesaid of the other part, that Benjamin Holliday by his said attorney, in fact hath this day for and in consideration of the sum of twelve hundred dollars of which one thousand dollars have been paid down in and to his said attorney, in fact and a note for two hundred dollars the balance of the consideration hath this day executed to the said Benjamin Holliday by the same Nathaniel Patten of the second part, the receipt of which sum of money and of which note is hereby acknowledged as the full consideration bargained, sold, aliened and conveyed by these presents, do bargain, sell and alien and convey to the said Nathaniel Patten, his heirs, and executors and administrators all the right, title, interest and claim which the said Benjamin Holliday has in and to a certain lot or parcel of ground erected lying and being in the town of Franklin in the county and State aforesaid it being the north half of lot 49 in the said town of Franklin which half lot or parcel of ground the said Benjamin Holliday purchased of the Commissioners to locate the seat of Justice of Howard County and the said Benjamin Holliday doth covenant and bind himself, his heirs and assigns to convey as good a title of the north half of lot 49 in said town as the commissioners appointed to locate "Seat of Justice" of Howard County, namely: William Head, David Jones, Stephen Cole and Benjamin Estell can make to him, the said Benjamin Holliday, by his attorney, in fact doth bind himself to make unto the said Nathaniel Patten his claims which he derived from Abraham Barnes through Herod Corwin in and to the said half lot or parcel of ground to the said Nathaniel Patten.

This indenture and all the covenants therein contained are expressly meant and intended to convey all the title, interest and claim which the said Benjamin Holliday has in and to the said half lot or parcel of ground in the said town, this conveyance to be only a quit claim deed from the said Benjamin Holliday to said Nathaniel Patten, his heirs and etc., by his attorney in fact by and with said Nathaniel his heirs and etc., all the right, title, claim and interest which the said Benjamin Holliday has in and to the Printing Office of establishment of the "Missouri Intelli-

gencer" consisting in part of one printing press, font of small pica type, one font of English type, one font of five pica lines and with all the apparatus belonging to the said Printing Establishment.

The said Benjamin Holliday doth sell and convey all the appurtenances to him and his heirs and etc., free from the claim of any person claiming by or through the said Benjamin Holliday, but the said Benjamin Holliday covenants against no claim except those derived from himself. It is further mutually covenanted by the said Benjamin Holliday and the said Nathaniel Patten this conveyance shall be considered a release of all demands, notes, bonds and obligations they may have had against each other heretofore and also of all accounts up to this date, and it is understood that the note given by the said Nathaniel Patten for two hundred dollars part consideration to the said Benjamin Holliday for the said half of said lot is not included in this last covenant between them.

In testimony whereof, the said Benjamin Holliday by his attorney, in fact Stephen Holliday has hereunto put his hand and seal this eighteenth day of July, eighteen hundred and twenty-two.

BENJAMIN HOLLIDAY [SEAL]

By his attorney,  
Stephen Holliday.

Gray Bynum, Clerk,  
and  
John T. Cleveland, witness.

As Benjamin Holliday declares in this bill of sale that he covenants against no claim except those derived from himself, the lovers of true history are indebted to him as the founder, financier and editor of the first American newspaper west of Saint Louis. If there is a man who deserves to be honored, revered, and lionized it is this Missouri Editor, for without him there would be no *Missouri Intelligencer* and *Boone's Lick Advertiser*.

'Tis he with the Coopers and other colonists who blazed the way that we might enjoy a home in peace and safety in our imperial state.

With the passing of the paper Benjamin Holliday turned his attention to other pursuits of life. On August 16, 1823, at the age of thirty-seven years, Benjamin Holliday was united in marriage to Miss Eliza Basye, at Franklin, daughter of Captain Alfred Basye and Frances Wilton Robinson.

Captain Basye was representative from Howard county in lower branch of the General Assembly. He was captain in the Missouri Militia and was afterward promoted to major and filled other positions of trust.<sup>15</sup>

His home was south of the Executive Mansion in Jefferson City, now the property of Mrs. Lay, daughter of Rilly Boone.

In 1824 Benjamin Holliday opened up an overland trading expedition from Franklin to Santa Fe, New Mexico, adopting the same route as had been established by William Becknell in 1821. The following year he formed a partnership with Augustus Storers and they conducted a trading post with the Indians at Council Bluffs.<sup>16</sup> In 1827 he moved his family to Fayette where he became a merchant, opening a general store from which he prospered.

During the early 30's Benjamin Holliday formed a partnership with Sterling Price, afterward the illustrious Confederate Missouri general. They bought and sold horses and mules, marketing them in Saint Louis and New Orleans. Price boarded in the Holliday home and while an inmate of it vaccinated the three Holliday children. He also courted Nancy Basye, sister of Mrs. Holliday, who later became the wife of attorney M. Starks, of Springfield, Missouri.

Holliday and Price supported races in Fayette and had horses on the famous Benjamin Watts track. Price's favorite horse for speed was "Mary Bedford" and he always bet on her.

Benjamin Holliday secured the contract to carry the mails between Glasgow and Boonville and employed George and Wash Knox to assist in its delivery.

When Alexander Campbell conducted his first religious revival in Fayette in 1845 Benjamin Holliday was one of his converts, and he and his family afterwards united with the Christian church.

<sup>15</sup>The *Columbia Herald* under date of April 14, 1890, in chronicling marriages of seventy-five years ago, says:

"Married in August, 1826, in Howard county, Missouri, Major Benjamin Holliday to Miss Eliza Basye, daughter of Captain Alfred Basye." Date should be August 16, 1823.

<sup>16</sup>Augustus Storers was father-in-law of John Rawlins, who was a son of John Rawlins and Nancy Holliday, daughter of Benjamin Holliday, 5th son of Captain John Holliday.

Benjamin Holliday and wife had three children, viz:

Frances Wilton Holliday, born August 30, 1825: married to Elias William McClanahan February 22, 1844; died May 18, 1911. Nine children were born to this union. Two survive: Mrs. Royal Bradley, of Mexico, Missouri, and Mrs. Eliza Price, widow of Robert McClintik Price, of Columbia, Missouri.<sup>17</sup>

Miss Caroline Colson Holliday, born November 3, 1826; died May 8, 1906. Her early tutorage was under private instruction, same as sister and brother. Later as did they, attended school under Wm. McNair, David Lucky and Carr Pritchett. She fitted herself for a teacher and taught in Prichett Institute and Lindenwood College, St. Charles, where she spent much time in home of Uncle Judge Andrew King. Left \$1,000 to Christian Church.<sup>18</sup>

Junius Alonzo Holliday, attorney at law, born June 12, 1829, at Fayette. Died in Hamilton, Missouri, July 17, 1901. Early tutorage same as sisters. Studied law at Central College, Fayette. Later at St. Charles. Was admitted to bar. Practiced with Judge Andrew King in Saint Louis. Judge King was U. S. Congressman from his district in 1871. Junius Alonzo Holliday practiced law in Fayette a while before going to Hamilton in 1866, where he located permanently, becoming the second resident attorney, through persuasion of his *cousin Albert Gallatin Davis*, founder of Hamilton.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>17</sup>Elias Wm. McClanahan owned a section of land on the University road at Columbia. He was a son of John McClanahan and Nancy Earle, of Greenville, South Carolina. He was a grandson of Rev. William McClanahan, whose wife was Mary Marshal, sister of Chief Justice John Marshal, who was a daughter of Colonel Thomas Marshal.

<sup>18</sup>*The Standard Atlas of Howard County*, published in 1897, page 47, shows Caroline Holliday and J. A. Holliday to be landowners in township 48-49 N. Range 17-18 West.

<sup>19</sup>*Missouri Manual, 1915-16*, page 165, mentions J. A. Holliday as Democratic delegate from Fourth District to State convention to revise the Constitution of Missouri. Junius Alonzo Holliday and Miss Caroline Holliday are buried beside their parents, Major Benjamin Holliday and wife, in the country graveyard on the John Q. Calloway farm, across from Davis farm. Here are also buried Mary Colson Holliday Davis, Augustus Cave Davis and son, Wade Hampton Davis.

In 1875 he was a member of the Missouri Constitutional Convention from the Fourth District. He was also clerk of the Missouri State Senate. He was candidate for Judge of the Fourth District in 1880 but was defeated by Judge Broadbuss. He was in Gallatin, Missouri, a year where he assisted in straightening out the books of the Gallatin Savings Bank. He was unmarried and left ten thousand dollars to his sisters, Frances McClanahan and Miss Caroline Holliday.

About 1854 Benjamin Holliday moved from Fayette to his farm near Boonesboro which he managed, assisted by his devoted wife and faithful slaves, and lived in peace and plenty among the haunts that fascinated him on his advent to Boone's Lick. He died April 1, 1859, followed by his wife August 23, 1867.

Benjamin Holliday was small in stature, being five and a half feet in height. He had black hair and blue eyes. He was termed the little "Frenchman," because of his innate politeness. He was well groomed and immaculate in his toilet. A typical gentleman of the "Old South" of Democratic politics, a fluent talker, he encouraged all matters pertaining to the public good. His friends were among the prominent men of his day. He was possessed of that unconquerable heroism in man which danger can not intimidate, which obstacles can not turn back, which labor can not paralyze, which time can not weaken, which failure can not discourage, which opposition can not disarm. He was a valiant force, determined at all hazards on success.

His life was pure and simple, his faith calm and trusting, his heart gentle and loving. He is an incitement to the spirit of his times, a glory of human power to be admired among the pioneers who illuminated the first half of the nineteenth century of Missouri's history.

## THE FOLLOWERS OF DUDEN.

BY WILLIAM G. BEK.

## FIRST ARTICLE.

The influence of Gottfried Duden's "Report" on the immigration of Germans to the United States and particularly to the Mississippi Valley has frequently been referred to by various culturo-historical writers. In comparison with the great wave of German immigrants which landed on our shores from 1848 to 1850, many of whom were political refugees, the followers of Duden have received relatively little consideration. Yet their services have been too meritorious and their contributions too valuable to warrant the semi-obscurity which now enshrouds some of their names and deeds. In the following an attempt will be made to present, largely from hitherto unpublished sources, the story of some of the many men that followed the author of the famous "Report" into the wilds of Missouri. We shall let them give the picture of Missouri as they found it, the native population with whom they associated, their struggle with primitive conditions, the impression and the joy which was theirs in coming from one of the most autocratic to one of the most liberal countries in the world, their honest criticism of what they found and experienced here, their honest endeavor to become in the fullest sense, one with the state in which they elected to cast their lot, their contributions, their successes and their failures.

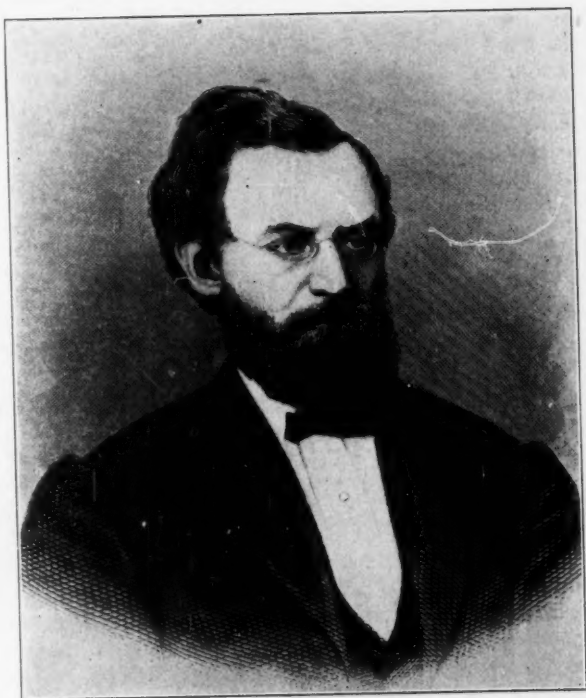
## THE STEINES FAMILY AND THEIR ASSOCIATES.

Hermann and Frederick Steines, natives of Rhenish Prussia, Germany, were the leaders of a body of pioneers who settled in Franklin county, Missouri. They were well educated men who, in the painstaking manner of a by-gone age, kept diaries and wrote letters full of worth-while content, describing their condition at home, their journey to America,

and their life as beginners in a young state of the New World. It is these documents which engage our attention for a while.

The vast majority of these papers have hitherto remained unpublished. A small number of letters of Hermann Steines and one letter by Frederick Steines appeared in pamphlet form, being edited by the brother-in-law of these two men, Friederich Dellmann, teacher in the Progymnasium in Meurs, Germany. The reason for publishing such a pamphlet was the desire to distribute the information contained in the letters among a large number of relatives and friends, since it was manifestly impossible for the emigrants to write to all those who were left behind. Nearly all the Steines documents are in the German language and are here presented in translated form.

In the foreword of the published letters Friedrich Dellmann gives us certain information which is not only interesting but valuable for a better understanding of the emigration enterprise. Among other things we read that the topic of emigration to America was then an all absorbing one among the Germans. We read: "For some years the editor of these letters and his relatives have had their attention fixed on emigration to the United States of America. We were made especially attentive to this matter by the report of an American journey by Mr. Duden. We were interested not because we ourselves lived in physical want, but because of intellectual needs. Our interest increased the more we read and heard about America, and the more we investigated the physical basis of existence in our home country. It did not seem wise to trust implicitly the statements of Mr. Duden, since we did not know the man personally, tho he seems entitled to our confidence, especially since the publication of his second work "Europe and Germany." Our resolve to emigrate was fixed, provided it could be shown that Duden's "Report" was based on fact. To determine this point, that member of our family, best fitted to make the investigation, was sent to America during the spring of last year. If he substantiates Duden's "Report" we intend to migrate thither, and hope to assist



**CARL SCHURZ**



many of our fellow countrymen, who are in need, to do the same. Our representative is Hermann Steines, the brother-in-law of the editor of these letters. With him goes also his cousin Adolph Greef, a master tailor, and the latter's family, consisting of his wife and five children. Hermann Steines, who is the author of most of the letters in this collection, had been engaged in the drug business for some ten years. His scientific studies included Botany, Chemistry and Physics. Aside from these his favorite study was Latin. Greek and French attracted his interest to a smaller degree. During the last year before his journey the English language was his main study. In Latin, Botany and Chemistry he made splendid progress. He is a single man who was more than amply supplied with financial means for the journey. He went with strict instruction to subject Duden's "Report" to searching examination. Cincinnati on the Ohio was selected as the place especially to be investigated. From there he was asked to make trips of exploration, especially to the Mississippi and the Missouri. From his letters it will be seen that he did not find in Cincinnati what he needed and continued his journey to St. Louis. His family is very much pleased with this move, since in St. Louis he is so much nearer the scene which is to be especially investigated. Since Hermann Steines is a very conscientious, thoughtful and wide-awake young man, and besides has the most explicit injunctions to report only after the most searching investigation, in order that he might not have to reproach himself if his statements brought misfortune upon his family, therefore the reader may be assured that his reports are based upon truth, and are the product of the greatest care and thoughtfulness. Our representative has been charged to procure the writings of Duden, F. Schmidt, L. Gall, A. Muerat, Loewig, Brauns and others and to study them most minutely and then compare them with his own observations, whereupon the results of his investigation are to be sent to me for distribution."

It is interesting to note how carefully the Steines family followed many suggestions of Duden. According to Duden's

"Report" a group of prospective emigrants was urged to send a representative to investigate conditions as they were, —this was done by the Steines group—the season suggested as the best to make the journey was chosen by them, and so in many, many other things they followed Duden's directions literally.

The translation of the documents follows:

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"Bremen, April 30, 1833.

"My dear Parents:

"Perhaps you think that I am even now upon the ocean. This might indeed have been the case, if I were alone, but, when in company with a family, lodging and passage are not found so easily as when one is alone. We went from one ship's agent to the other, but nowhere could we find sufficient room for our party, except on ships whose rates were exorbitant. The firm of Westhoff and Meyer wanted to charge Greef \$175.00 in gold, and refused to grant the least reduction, in spite of the fact that the ship will not sail till May 8. This is indeed the first ship in which we could have made the journey, since all those that sail sooner have no room left for such a group as ours. The brothers Kochs, as you already know, had secured passage in advance and they will sail, at the latest, on May 6, on the ship Columbus. It is a source of much regret that we could not secure passage on the Columbus. These are the consequences of not having negotiated with the ship's agents in advance. Emigrating families or larger groups must heed this especially, for the individual traveler who pays \$30.00 in gold can find a place at almost any time. I, for instance, could still have found room on the Columbus, but you will understand why I acted as I did. Greef and I have just drawn up a contract with the ship's agent, Karl Traub, according to which contract we shall depart during the second week in May on board the ship Weser, Captain Hermann Graun. The Weser is a Bremen ship and has a German crew. If our departure is delayed, which is hardly probable, the aforesaid ship's agent

is bound by the contract to pay for board and lodging after May 15. It is very probable that we shall sail about May 8, since about all the places on the ship are spoken for. The steerage room of our ship is six feet high. On the Columbus the steerage passengers could not stand erect. The height of the steerage room is a matter of great importance. Greef must now pay \$145.00 and I pay the regular rate of \$30.00. In this way Greef pays only the regular rate, tho usually four adults are considered equal to three children. For his passage, as that also of his wife, of his daughter Ida (age 16), his son Wilhelm (age 13) he pays \$30.00 each, for the three smaller ones \$15.00, \$7.50 and \$3.75 respectively. I must not forget to mention a splendid man of honor whom we met here. His name is Ordemann, who lives in Langestrasze and is a beer brewer by profession. He has helped us in innumerable ways. Justly he reproached us for not having made reservations in advance, and said that if we had applied to him, he would have secured passage for us. If this had been done, he could have advised us as to when to come here. The benevolence of this man did not extend to us alone. He requested me to write to you or any other persons contemplating this journey to write to him without reserve, whereupon he would inform you or others when to arrive here. Having been told that many others from our neighborhood would follow us, he had the enclosed cards printed in order that they might be distributed among our friends.\* I had a letter of recommendation to him, and he took a lively and sympathetic interest in my affairs. He recommends that those contemplating a trip to America should write to him and state accurately the number of persons in the emigrating party, the respective ages of the persons in the party, and the date when they should like to sail. Ample time should be given him, in order that he may have an opportunity of making advanta-

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\*The card read as follows: "Nic. Ordemann, Beerbrewer in Bremen, Langenstrasse No. 116, will gladly and promptly assist emigrants in securing passage on ships to America, and will willingly give information regarding such passage and conditions pertaining thereto. Passengers may secure board and lodging at his inn during their stay here."

geous contracts with ship owners. The emigrants may then remain at home until Mr. Ordemann informs them concerning the time at which the ship, on which he has secured passage for them, will depart. One-fifth of the passage money must be remitted in advance, in order that the agent may be reimbursed for the expenses he has had in the event that the passengers should fail to arrive. If the ship should not depart immediately upon the arrival of the emigrants, Mr. Ordemann will provide cheap and good accommodations for them in his inn. Mr. Ordemann expressed surprise that we should have to pay from twenty-five to twenty-nine Groten (a low German coin, valued at four pence in English money) per day. In case the ship is delayed for a longer time in the harbor than was originally stipulated, the ship's agent is obliged to furnish board and lodging for the extra time. In our case this provision would go into effect on the fifteenth of this month. Mr. Ordemann does not take any commission for his services. His sole interest is this, that by furnishing many passengers to the ship owners he is able to sell much beer, of which every ship requires a certain amount. He is an honest man, to whom I would much rather intrust this sort of business than to the agents who carry on this kind of enterprise solely for their own enrichment, and often extort large sums from families that have many children. These agents will send flattering literature into your neighborhood. I advise you to warn the people against them. Most of them are not reliable. To be sure, the ship owners have made contracts with these agents stipulating the amount they are allowed for their services, but they do not adhere to these figures. Adolph may count himself lucky, for his charges are not excessive. In fact he could not have gotten the passage cheaper. The only really disagreeable thing that we have encountered is the fact that we have to wait so long.

"Now a few things about the journey. On the twenty-first cousin L. accompanied me as far as Stockenberg. Here we said goodbye, and at six o'clock I was in Gelsenkirchen. I was cordially received. On the following morning we had

to say farewell again. The mother of the brothers Kochs had been ill for several weeks and yet she had the strength to bid her sons adieu without shedding a tear. Via Recklinghausen we went to Haltern on the Lippe. On the twenty-third we went thru Duelmen, Appelhuesen and Muenster as far as Telgte where we met Adolph and his family. In Muenster we saw the three iron cages on the wall of the tower of St. Lamberti church, in which cages the three fanatics of the time of the Reformation found their death. On the twenty-fourth we went from Telgte to Glandorf, this being the first Hanovarian village thru which we passed. Here a revenue officer is located, but we were not required to pay duty. On the same day we passed thru Iburg and arrived at Oesede, and on the twenty-fifth we journeyed to Osnabrueck, a long, narrow town, situated on a hilly plain. It took us ten minutes to go thru the small sector of the Prussian district of Minden, after which we went thru Kappeln, Bohmte and Lempfoerde. On the twenty-sixth, from there thru Diepholz, Drebber, Barnstref and Twistringen; on the twenty-seventh, from there via Brinkum, the last Hanovarian village, where we found another toll station. The accursed toll collector did not want to let us thru without paying an entrance as well as an excise duty, unless we were willing to unpack our belongings. He charged us two Groten per hundred pounds as entrance fee and two Groten passage fee. In my case this amounted to eight Groten, while Greef had to pay twenty-four Groten or one Thaler. After half an hour we reached the territory of Bremen which we greeted with a loud hurrah. In another half hour we were in the town itself, and I then went to see D. I was very much disappointed. My quarters did not please me at all. Mr. D. is not worthy of a recommendation. It seemed to me that he sought to extort money from the emigrants just like every other swindler does. But we have been on our guard in our dealing with him, as we are with all other persons, who try to become too intimate with us. We strongly recommend and urge everybody to stick to their previously designed purpose, to use their own good sense, and

to follow only the advice of unselfish and tried men. As far as our quarters are concerned, we are now getting along fairly well. We have a living room and two bedrooms with four beds. Kochs, Adolph's boy and I have our room in the attic. For breakfast we get coffee for six Groten per person, for our dinner we pay ten Groten each, and in the evening we again have coffee and also beer and bread and butter. In future I shall procure bread and butter for myself, adding thereto some sausage, whereby my living expenses will be decreased. We pay three Groten for our bed. A Louisd'or as also a Friedrichsd'or is worth five Thaler here. One Thaler is equal to seventy-two Groten. The Scheidt brothers have issued me a draft payable in Baltimore by a brother of Mr. Luermann. Such a draft is considered absolutely safe. I get three and three-fourths dollars for one Friedrichsd'or, that is to say fifteen dollars for twenty Thaler in gold. Since a dollar is worth one hundred cents, the local gold Thaler is worth seventy-five cents. The journey to this place has cost me about three Prussian Thaler. The cash which I shall have on hand before my departure, I shall exchange for American dollars (Spanish Piasters) according to the above rate of exchange, for one loses heavily in the exchange of our money in America. Greef will take his money partly in form of drafts and partly in American dollars. The Kochs brothers also have drafts on Baltimore.

"We met here so many emigrants, that it is not surprising that we were detained so long. On our entire way, especially from Muenster on, we found the inhabitants so occupied with emigration projects, and so many had already emigrated, that the erroneously entertained conception that an emigrant is a good-for-nothing, a revolutionist, or an adventurer has been rather successfully dispelled. These people have every reason to migrate, for the wages of an artisan are meager and the soil which the farmer tills is very, very poor. From Recklinghausen on we saw scarcely anything but sandy stretches of heath, very sparsely settled, low, humble cottages, whose inhabitants wrested but a scant harvest from the barren

heath. In Haltern we encountered for the first time houses with doors that resembled the doors on our barns. These houses are so arranged that the people live in one part of the building while the other part is given over to the live stock. Not only the peasants but also the burgers live thus. Only a few build in our manner. In the homes of the peasants, as also in those of some of the inhabitants of the city, the hearth is in the spacious middle room of the house, and since they have no chimneys the smoke of the burning turf permeates the entire house and finds its way thru the great door, on which account everything in the house, the people included, look black. But, as I have said, here and there one finds better living conditions. In Bremen and in some of the town and in their environment tile stoves are found. From these stoves pipes extend thru the walls of the rooms into the street, on which account the streets are often filled with smoke.

"Baring a few adventures we had a great deal of fun on our journey here. We had a splendid driver who is worthy of the highest recommendation. Except at Oesede we found good lodging places everywhere. At that place we were obliged to spend the night in a genuine peasant lodging. The ragged inn-keeper sat on the spooling wheel, and he, as also his wife, was black with soot. The house, like most of the houses in the country and the villages, consisted of only one story. The meals were tolerable, but there was only one bed room with four ragged, dirty beds. We took off our coats and went to bed but slept only a little. We were awake at four and soon departed. In Lempfoerde we found one hotel filled. In another there were so many Jews that it stunk of garlic. However, we got two rooms and the Jews vacated their beds and themselves slept on the straw. Fortunately we remained free of vermin.

"Now I will close, promising to inform you concerning the day on which we sail. One thing more occurs to me. In that untidy inn at Oesede we had a great feed bucket for our chamber utensil. In general, however, these people were very obliging and attentive, and they had every cause

to be so, for this lodging cost us more than any other along the whole way. From Lempfoerde to Diepholz we saw many storks. They make their nests on the pointed gables of the straw covered roofs. Here in Bremen there are also some storks.

"Now farewell. Accept my most cordial greetings and the assurance that we are all well and happy. Tell Ed. Ullmann that the boat Osperg crossed the ocean in safety.

Your

HERMANN."

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"Bremen, May 14, 1833.

"My dear parents:

"Still in Bremen. We are getting experience, you see. For heaven's sake make it clear to every one anxious to emigrate, that it is not so easy to get away from European soil, even if money is at hand. Tell them that they must by all means have a proper contract before they leave their homes. I cannot understand how it is possible, in the face of so many bitter experiences which their countrymen have had, that our people do not yet understand that a binding contract is absolutely necessary in order to avoid being cheated by the ship's agents, or at least to avoid long and unpleasant delay. I wish to call to your attention once more what I wrote you in regard to Mr. Ordemann. From the card which I sent you you will see that he furnishes board and lodging. I have convinced myself that his house is very well suited to the needs of emigrants. He has large rooms where one can sleep, and handsome bed rooms and living rooms for families and for those who wish to live more elegantly. Hearths are provided for families who wish to do their own cooking. It is understood that families will bring their own bedding which they can use on the ship during the journey. He told me that he would furnish room and lodging for twenty-four Groten per person, if they did not ask for separate bed rooms. We, as you know, are obliged to pay more in the inferior place

where we are. I must admit we are treated fairly well where we are, and have the best rooms which they have. For a young fellow like myself this is good enough. But if you or others who wish to live a little better should make this journey, I must say that I cannot conscientiously recommend this house to you.

"There are a great many emigrants in town. A week or two ago there were almost two thousand here each day. On the average there are a little more than a thousand a day, so that the lodging houses for emigrants are very much crowded. In the little inn Daubstein there are more than thirty. Emigrants from almost every province of Germany are seen on the streets. Most of them are on their way to Baltimore. The Kochs brothers sailed from here on the second of May.

"It is no wonder that the Germans are held in such low esteem by the Americans, for by far the greater part of the German emigrants belong to a low class of people, a circumstance not at all conducive of instilling a high regard of the Germans in the minds of the Americans. But, as I have said, there are also some very well-bred persons among them.

"I have made my stay fairly agreeable by visiting the Reverends Krummacher and von Aschen and a certain apothecary Kindt, as well as Mr. Ordemann, on whom I have frequently called. On the seventh I dined with Mr. Krummacher, and on the eleventh with Mr. von Aschen. The latter has married a sister of the late Mr. Scheidt. The pastor's wife attended school with you, and when I told her that you might perhaps come this way, she asked me to tell you to be sure to visit them during your stay here. Mr. von Aschen has two sons in America who are farming near Cincinnati.

"Thru the assistance of Mr. Ordemann I received a letter from a Quaker to the Quaker Mr. Soeppler in Baltimore who is said to be very rich. This letter contains a recommendation, and Mr. Soeppler is requested to advise me as to the best steps to take after arriving in America.

"Now a few things about the city of Bremen. It consists of an old and a new town, which are separated from each other by the larger branch of the Weser. The smaller branch separates the new town from an island situated between the two branches. On the island, too, there are many houses. Over both branches of the Weser bridges are built. The one over the smaller branch is sixty, the one over the larger branch is one hundred and sixty paces long. The old town is built in old fashion, having very high houses, narrow streets, most of which are without sidewalks. On the city wall and on the promenades it is very pretty. Most of the houses have bay-windows, but cannot be called pretty, not as pretty, at least, as the houses in Barmen, Duesseldorf and Crefeld. The city hall is decorated with much sculpturing. In the wine cellar under this city hall wines valued at a ducat per drop are deposited. Good beer belongs to the noteworthy things of Bremen. On the market place in front of the city hall there is a statute of the liberator of the city of Bremen, Roland, in colossal size. The new town is more regularly built and has many beautiful walks with linden trees on each side, but there, too, many houses are low and poor."

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"Bremen Harbor, May 17, 1833. In the morning. "On the morning of the fifteenth we loaded our boxes on a cart. When we were just in the act of departing fire broke out in a distillery a few doors from Daubstein's, so that we had great difficulty in getting thru the crowd. Since the process of loading the boat is very slow work, it was seven in the evening before we left Bremen. The boat in which we departed was broad but not long, and in it seventy persons were crowded like herrings. With many others I stayed on deck. Later I slept on my straw mattress till midnight. On account of the darkness we could not see Bagesack nor Bracke, where most of the ships lie at anchor. About midnight the flood tide set in. The foaming waters opposed us so much that we had to cast anchor. After a short time the

anchors were raised again and a favorable wind conveyed us hither, where we arrived at six a. m. We are now in the new harbor of the city of Bremen, a region which the city has bought from Hanover. It is called Bremerhafen. It is about a mile ( $\frac{1}{4}$  Stunden) long, and not quite as broad as the Ruhr river, but very deep. At present ten large ships are here. To-day our baggage will be loaded on the ship Ernst and Gustav for the Weser which we were supposed to take is held up for repairs. There is room enough, and the steerage is just high enough for me to stand erect. The steerage contains twenty-eight beds, giving accommodations for one hundred and forty persons. I had imagined ocean vessels to be much larger than they actually appear to be. I have not been able to ascertain the exact size of ours as yet. It may be larger than I think.

"Bremerhafen is only a village now, but may develop into a city some day. The Weser river is broader here than in Bremen. It is said to be half a mile wide in places. We are still forty some miles from the mouth of the Weser, seven miles from Bremen and about two miles from Bremerlehe.

"In the afternoon.

"Now we are on the great boat. Captain Laun of Bremen has just arrived. When you get this letter we shall doubtless be on the ocean, for the captain said they would raise the anchors early to-morrow morning. As yet we have not had anything to eat on board of ship, but I am confident that we shall have enough when it does come.

"Now farewell, and be without anxiety on my account, for I am very well. On board of our ship are people from Muenster, Hanover, Wuerttemberg, Hessa and Prussia. There are many fine people among them. All are emigrants. Goodbye then till Baltimore.

Your loving son,

HERMANN."

## CONCERNING EMIGRANTS' CONTRACT WITH SHIP OWNERS.

(From an original document among the Steines papers.)

"Conditions under which J. D. Luedering in Bremen, the authorized ship's agent, who has been appointed by the government to receive emigrants and to assist them to their ships, agrees to make contracts for the passage from Bremen to the United States of North America."

"(1) For the transportation of passengers only such ships are accepted as are provided with roomy steerage quarters and whose efficiency has been duly tested and investigated and is vouched for by the insurance company prior to the beginning of the journey.

"(2) During the journey the passengers receive their board free, board such as it is customary to serve on board of ship, consisting of salt beef, salt and smoked bacon, shelled beans, green and yellow peas, groats, rice, farinaceous foods, potatoes, etc., everything in sufficient quantity and well prepared; in addition to this—in the morning coffee or tea, toast, fresh water, etc. For the men a drink of brandy is provided in the morning. In case of sickness the patients receive appropriate food and necessary medicine, of which a sufficient supply is on board. In order that no want may arise during the journey, the above named supplies are taken in a superfluous quantity, calculated sufficient for a journey of ninety days.

"(3) The ordinary traveling baggage of passengers is conveyed free of charge. Under the term 'ordinary traveling baggage' is meant a trunk or chest of about twenty cubic feet content per passenger. In this matter only the size and not the weight of the chest is taken into consideration.

"(4) Passengers will find suitable bedsteads, but they must supply their own bedding or straw mattresses, as well as their own dishes, spoons, knives and forks.

"(5) The rate of steerage passage to Baltimore, New York, or Philadelphia is the following per individual:

Persons over twelve years of age 40 Thaler in gold.  
Children from eight to twelve years 30 Thaler in gold.  
Children from four to eight years 20 Thaler in gold.  
Children from one to four years 10 Thaler in gold.  
Children under one year of age 5 Thaler in gold.

"Since however, according to an American law, only a certain number of passengers may be transported on each steamer, (for every five tons of the ship's displacement only two passengers), and since children are estimated equal to adults in this matter, therefore it is assumed that under the above quoted rates for children their number will be such proportion to the number of adults that a sufficiently large average sum per head will be realized. The now customary sum, required of families or parties, amounts to thirty-five Thaler in gold per head, according to which only one child is allowed with three adults. If there are more children than can be apportioned according to the above scale, additional payment must be made. Families will therefore do well to combine with other adult persons whose fare is uniformly forty Thaler. I myself shall endeavor to make the passage of families as cheap as possible by securing combinations with other adults.

"(6) The age of children must be certified to by birth certificates, and every passenger must be provided with a passport to the foreign country.

"(7) In a few places in North America, especially in New York and Philadelphia, the government demands a poor-tax (Armen-Taxe) of immigrants upon their arrival. This amounts to a sum ranging from one to four Spanish Thaler or one and a half to five Thaler in gold. This fee passes under the term of Commutation money. All passengers sailing to any of these points must deposit this amount at the time they pay their fare.

"(8) If passengers wish to assure themselves of the transportation opportunities they are obliged to deposit one-fifth of their fare in advance, and then remit the remainder in cash to the undersigned before going on board ship.

"9) The shipowners consider themselves bound after the receipt of this fare to secure passage on another ship, according to the passenger's choice, in case the ship to which the passenger has been assigned meets with an accident while on the Weser or in its vicinity, or they agree to annul the contract altogether by returning the fare paid, or they will furnish the passenger with securities for the amount of fare which was paid before entering upon the journey.

"10) After the payment of the above named amount of one-fifth of the fare has been made, both parties are considered obligated to one another. In due season the time is stipulated when the passenger is to arrive in order to go on board of ship.

"11) In case that a passenger does not arrive at the appointed time, or in the event that he should not be able to pay the remainder of his fare, then the preliminary payment is lost and is applied to the defraying of expenses that have been incurred.

"12) NOTICE: Since the places on the ships are usually made sure of by advance reservation, it is necessary that those who wish to secure passage at a definite time, send in their advance payment early, and at the same time stipulate when they should like to sail, to which port in North America, and of how many persons their party consists. In enumerating the persons constituting a party of travelers, care should be taken that the first names and surnames, the place of residence and the trade, the number of men, women and children are given, and that the ages of the children are carefully and accurately stipulated. I shall then engage passage on good ships which depart for the desired port at the designated time. The date when the passengers are to be here will be designated by me. Only those passengers who are able to pay the entire amount of fare are accepted, and everybody is hereby warned not to come without possessing the necessary means. Under no condition will free passage be allowed on promise to work on board of ship, or upon promise to pay after arriving

in America. The local government sends all those, who are unable to pay the passage, back to their home country.

"Since it has often happened that persons who came here without having made preliminary arrangements have been obliged to stay here from three to four weeks at their own expense, the local government urgently requests those who wish to sail from Bremen to make their reservations in advance, in order to avoid great inconvenience and loss.

"Sailing opportunities to Philadelphia are infrequent, but one is able to get to Philadelphia from Baltimore as well as from New York in one day for three or four Thaler per person. To New Orleans sailing opportunities are also rare, and a higher rate is charged to that point.

"a) Passage, for adults, in the ship's cabin, costs ninety Thaler in gold to New York or Philadelphia, and eighty Thaler in gold to Baltimore. Cabin passengers dine at the captain's table, but must pay extra for articles of luxury, such as wines, etc. They must also furnish their own bedding and towels.

"b) Every cabin passenger is obliged to make an advance payment of four Louisd'or. Every steerage passenger makes such a payment of two Louisd'or.

"c) The bedding, which every passenger is obliged to furnish, may consist of a mattress, pillows and woolen blankets. Mattresses and pillows filled with sea-weed can be procured here at two and two-thirds Thaler, the same filled with straw for one and one-third Thaler. A woolen blanket costs about two Thaler.

"d) Passengers will find it most advantageous to exchange their money into Spanish Thaler or to take it in the form of drafts, both of which can be procured here. Prussian currency, Kronenthaler, etc., are accepted in payment of passage and computed at the proper rate of exchange. Five Thaler in gold are equal to one Pistole or one Louisd'or.

"e) I forward all letters to North America without extra charge, provided they have the proper postage prepaid.

"The advantages of Bremen over ports in Holland and France, as pertains to the opportunities of sailing, business-

like and pleasant treatment, good equipment and cheapness of fare are so generally understood and appreciated that it seems superfluous to discuss them here in detail.

"The purpose of the undersigned is by no means to encourage emigration, but to assist those who have made up their minds to emigrate and to provide for them the best and at the same time the cheapest possible passage. This I am enabled to do since I am always sending suitable passenger ships to Baltimore, and also dispatch the regularly going packet ships to New York. I shall be glad to give further detailed information upon receipt of postage prepaid inquiries. Passengers are under no obligation to pay me any commission.

May 9, 1833.

J. D. LUEDERING, Ship's Agent,  
Langenstrasse, No. 39, Bremen."

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HERMANN STEINES' FIRST AMERICAN LETTER.

"Baltimore, July 16, 1833.

"My dear Parents:

"Before I begin the account of my journey I wish to inform you that I, as also Adolph (Greef) and his family, arrived in the local harbor in the afternoon of the 12th inst., being in good health and fine spirits. From my letter, dated May 17th, in the Harbor of Bremen, you know that on the 18th of May we sailed from that port; but we did not reach the North Sea until about noon of the 19th. Many passengers were sea-sick while we were yet on the Weser river. I, however, as well as Adolph and the remaining adults of our party did not become sea-sick until we reached the North Sea on the afternoon of the 19th. The children were, for the most part, free from the illness, and in the case of the adults improvement soon came, altho there continued to be a lack of appetite, and there was much headache, both occasioned by the poor food which we received. For a week, till the first day of Pentecost, I was threatened with indigestion,

which, however, did not trouble me so very much because I ate almost nothing. I advised everyone not to go on board without his own provisions, because no one, however humbly he may be accustomed to live, can find the fare which is served to steerage passengers palatable. Each morning from three to five men had to attend to the cooking. These men had to get up at five o'clock in the morning, fetch the water from the barrels, build the fire, and make the coffee. For one hundred and thirty-six passengers, big and little, only eighteen and a half ounces of coffee beans were allowed. Besides the water was so bad that I could not drink any coffee or tea on the whole journey. In the morning we also took a little brandy and sweetened it with sugar in a flask in which there were some lemon peelings. This composition was an invention of mine. This drink with some toast, a piece of bacon weighing from two to four ounces, served sometimes raw and sometimes cooked, constituted my morning and my evening meal. The ship's toast was made of coarse flour and was so thoroly dried that it was sometimes burned. At noon our cooks had to prepare soup with peas and beans, rice, gruel made of barley, and potatoes with salted and smoked beef and pork. The rice and the barley were unpalatable to me and on the days when they were served I rarely ate anything. Adolph did not fare much better. Thank heaven, we lived thru it and our health is unimpaired.

"After we had been on the ship for about two weeks, Captain Laun began to take special interest in me. I received permission to come to his cabin whenever I wished and I drank many a glass of good wine and grog with him. After he had heard that I took no tea in the evening, I was frequently invited to take the evening meal with him. This preferment was perhaps in part due to the fact that the two passengers who occupied the cabin with him were stupid fellows whom the captain could not endure.

"Now concerning the progress of our journey. We did not go thru the Channel of Calias but by the northern route

around Great Britain. On the entire journey the wind varied from northwest to southwest and was therefore advantageous to this sort of trip. On the 21st we were at the heights of Edinburg, on the 23rd we saw Fair Island and the Shetland Islands. On the 24th we sailed westward between the Shetland and the Faroe Islands. The southwest wind prevailed so that we could only tack in a southwesterly direction. On the 29th we got northwest wind. During the third week in June we saw some seaplants which were carried by the Gulf Stream, and on the 19th of June we were at the southern point of the great Bank of New Foundland. Here a dense fog prevailed for several days. The captain was much concerned on account of icebergs. (For the presence of icebergs in this locality see Duden's account.) The thermometer fell so low that we had reason to conclude that ice was near, but we did not see any. The captain desired to avoid the Gulf Stream by sailing southward along the American coast, leaving the Gulf Stream to the east of us, but adverse winds compelled him to sail east of the Stream. On the 28th of June we were on the 36th parallel north, in the outer edge of the Gulf Stream, but got out of it, and did not get into it again till July the 5th when we were opposite New York. On the evening of July 6 there was a calm. On the 7th the wind began to blow again about noon, and in the evening we had crossed the Gulf Stream opposite Philadelphia. On the 9th of July the sounding lead indicated bottom at a depth of twenty fathoms. The bottom consisted of coarse sand mixed with shells of animals. At one o'clock on the 10th of July, the captain wakened me in order to show me the lighthouse of Cape Henry. On the previous day a pilot had come to us. I jumped up and, drunk with joy, gazed upon the distant scene. I did not again retire, and with the coming dawn I beheld the beloved land toward which our thoughts had so long been directed. The pilot, however, had made a mistake; the land which we saw was not the mainland but Chingateak Island, under the thirty-eighth degree northern latitude, as the captain had maintained it was. With Hog and Smith Islands

in sight we sailed toward Cape Henry whose lighthouse came into sight at 2:30 o'clock in the afternoon, and at 6:30 of that day a gentle breeze drove us into Chesapeake Bay. At the entrance to the bay we saw the James river. At 7:15 we saw the mouth of the York. During the night we passed the Rappahannock, and then on the 11th the Potomac, the Patuxent, where the customs officer visited our ship, in the afternoon the Severn, where we saw the towers of Annapolis, the capital city of Maryland, and at eight in the evening we entered the Patapsco where the ship cast anchor, two miles out of Baltimore. At 4:30 on the 12th the anchors were again raised, but on account of contrary winds we were obliged to tack and did not arrive in Baltimore till two o'clock in the afternoon, where we anchored outside of the harbor to await the physician and the custom officer. Both these officers arrived soon and found every one in good health, and found no one possessing too much or too little of worldly goods. One passenger had been smuggled on shore in the disguise of a sailor. When the physician went back to shore the custom officer accompanied him and took the two cabin passengers, Adolph and myself with him. At three o'clock we set foot on land again after we had been on the ship for eight weeks.

"If I had known in Kettwig how poorly a ship is provided with food-stuffs, I should not have left my grip behind, but should have filled it in part with provisions, and in part with wearing apparel, for I find that my clothes were much too tightly packed. On the ship I could not think of unpacking and airing the clothes, moreover, our trunks were in the hold of the ship among many other chests. It was impossible to get permission to keep any trunks in the steerage room. When I received my trunks I found them very dirty, all the iron parts were covered with rust, and upon opening I found the shirts that were at the bottom damp and spotted, the bindings of my books white with mould, the collars of my coats, as well as my boots and shoes, mouldy.

"Many a time I wished that I had a pocket full of plums, or a piece of bacon, or something else worth while to eat, and how easily I could have been provided with all such things if I had only been as well informed before I left Kettwig as I now am.

"No question was raised concerning the amount of our baggage nor concerning the size of our trunks. Each one of us might have taken a thousand pounds along, tho the announcement of the ship's agent distinctly says that the chests must not have a content of more than twenty cubic feet. These fellows are carrying on an accursed business. These devils ought to be sentenced to take a trip across the ocean under the same circumstances under which the steerage passengers must travel. I will vouch that they would then not make such glowing promises. During a part of our journey we received very little drinking water. We had to cook our own food. This was sometimes accompanied with great difficulty on account of the violent rocking of the ship. When the breakfast, the dinner or the tea was ready, I, or someone else, called out the names of the passengers, and one of the cooks filled the dishes for them. Sometimes the ship inclined so much that no one could walk without holding on to something. The sea often washed the deck. It was very amusing to see the people holding on to one another and carrying their portion of food before them. Some stepped as gingerly as if they were walking on eggs. Now and then some one fell, or was drenched by the waves and let his food fall, then the most uproarious laughter resounded. We should have had a painter along to immortalize those scenes. They would have made splendid pictures.

"Till the first day of Pentecost we had good weather, tho it was cold in the North Sea. During the night from the first to the second day of Pentecost a violent storm arose. Because of the unusual movement of the ship the bed on which I and three sturdy Wuerttembergers slept collapsed at one o'clock. Startled by the frightful crash, I thought the ship had been stranded. Adolph and his family soon aroused us

from our stupor and bewilderment, begging us to get up in order that our boards might not fall on them. The ship's carpenter came immediately and after an hour we were all in bed again. The storm lasted till the afternoon of May the 23rd. During the storm the discontent was very great among the passengers. With the return of calm their joyfulness asserted itself again, however. The privy on our ship was in a dangerous and inconvenient place. It so happened that during the rough sea a person would be wholly drenched. During the 30th and 31st of May the sea was stormy but the sky was clear. On the 2nd of June lice were found on several passengers, and many a quarrel arose as to who was responsible for their being there.

"The beer which Ordemann provided did splendid service, tho we did not have enough of it and so had to be very economical with it. My niece, Mrs. Greef, prepared a delicious soup of flour, bread, raisins or currants for our supper during the first week of our journey, but later she was not permitted to do so any more. On the 6th of June, which was the day of the Kettwig kirmess, the weather was beautiful. So it was also on the 7th, which was my twenty-fifth birthday. In celebrating this event we emptied several bottles. From the 10th to the 15th of June we had a heavy wind, which, blowing favorably for us, hastened our journey very much. On the 14th the storm was so violent that we could not cook at all. On the 17th the sea was calm once more. Till the 20th it was so disagreeably cold that we could not stay on deck at all. Moreover, our garments were almost always drenched. Then it became so warm that it was very uncomfortable. On the 24th scurvy was found among the passengers. Fortunately it did not spread. We were also tormented by fleas. Many of us slept on deck when this was possible. Almost every day quarrels broke out among the passengers, but Adolph and I remained non-partisan. During the entire journey I enjoyed the genuine respect of all the fellow travelers. Often times I appeared in the role of peacemaker. Then I could

not refrain from remarking that "The evils of excess of population' pursued us even to America. On the whole I am very well satisfied with our journey. The weather never was quite so bad that we had to do without fresh air. Persons who are old and who are accustomed to a comfortable mode of living will find traveling even in a cabin disagreeable, and during the first few weeks will indeed be very unhappy.

"As far as the Gulf Stream is concerned, I must say, that it is not as wicked as Duden described it, for during a calm it carried us only very slowly in a northeasterly direction. The eye is entirely unable to distinguish it from the rest of the ocean. Only the difference of temperature and calculations with astronomical instruments can indicate and determine its whereabouts. Our captain was very angry with Duden for expressing such adverse opinions concerning captains on ocean vessels. He made a few marginal notes in my copy of Duden. In these he ridicules Duden's remarks concerning whales, as also the statement that a ship could be driven four hundred miles out of its course by the Gulf Stream. He states that most likely the captain made Duden believe this.

"Now, dear parents, hear how we intend to proceed. To-morrow morning, the 17th of July, I shall go to Pittsburg by way of Chambersburg, for the railroad to Wheeling has been finished only to a short distance beyond Fredericktown.\* Adolph has just decided to remain here. This is quite agreeable to me, for traveling with a family of children is very irksome, even tho they are sometimes able to render small services.

"Coming from the ship we sought out an inn. As we entered the landlord said: 'Well, look here. How do you do Mr. Steines?' Accidentally we had come upon Mr. Reuter of Huelsen near Loehdorf, who here has married a widow who owns an inn. He earns much money and we,

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\*Quoted from the introduction to Duden's 'Report.'

\*This is the railroad of which Duden spoke in his "Report." All the members of the Steines family having read the "Report," it was clear to all what railroad the writer meant.

who stopped with him had to pay him a round sum. But such is the custom everywhere in American inns.

"Those who come without means fare badly in this country. I have seen a countless number of them, who bitterly cursed their fate. The interior of the country, especially the state of Missouri, is in extremely bad repute. I feel that we have already been too long in the city, and shall be very glad when I reach Cincinnati, where I hope to find employment. May good Providence be my guide and give me friends with whom I can associate. I am not yet discontented, altho all around me there are many dissatisfied faces. The English language is of great service to me. I can get along fairly well, and from several sources I have been assured, that it is worth more than a thousand dollars.

"The length of this letter has induced me to write this time to you alone. From Cincinnati I shall again write to you and also to Fred or to Dellmann. Adolph will also write. He and his family have found a Mr. Stein who immigrated some years ago.

"It would be a crime to recommend emigration to this place at this time. I feel positive, however, that the sad aspect will change when I reach the interior. However, I do not wish to dissuade anyone from coming, until I have gathered more data, and have had more experience. Nevertheless, I believe, that if one is well located in his native land, he ought not to leave lightmindedly. Do not take this remark amiss. But emigration from Europe to America means a revolution in one's life. With sweet hopes one pictures the future, then suddenly the dreams vanish and reality presents itself in its crassest form to the dreamer. So it goes with many, and on this account there are thousands and thousands of unfortunates who either perish in wretchedness, or who enjoy a degree of prosperity, such as they left in the old world, only after enduring countless hardships against tremendous odds in the new. Please do not consider this as applicable to myself. No, in the firm trust in God, I shall journey on,

and shall pray for His assistance in my endeavors. He is at the present time my only friend.

"Dear parents, please see to it that Fred, Peter and Dellmann and all the others who love me hear about my arrival in this country and greet them for me. The documents I shall send from Cincinnati.

"From Chambersburg I shall go on to Pittsburg in a stage-coach. From there I shall take the steam-boat to Cincinnati.

"Yesterday I climbed the winding stairway, (containing two hundred and twenty-three steps) of the Washington monument made of marble. From here I could overlook the entire city which is laid out on a large scale. The city extends on each side far into the surrounding forests. A part of the city is situated on a height, the greater portion, however, is in a flat lowland.

"A moment ago Adolph came back from town, and since he has decided not to stay here, has brought a teamster along who is to convey us and our belongings to Pittsburg. Several other emigrants will also make the trip, so that he has a load of forty-five hundred weight. He charges \$2.12 for hauling a hundred weight. Thus we are relieved of all further expense. I shall therefore not take the stage coach, as I had previously planned, but shall go with Adolph and the rest of the company on foot. The teamster has requested that he be allowed two weeks to make the journey. Adolph requests me to ask you to tell William that he will not send a letter until he had settled somewhere.

"Several of the emigrants have easily found work here, but only at wages varying from four, six to eight dollars, according to the employment they have obtained. But if the high cost of living is taken into consideration, how much is left in the end? A clever workman who knows the secret of saving can lay by something, but this is not done by most of them. A bottle of beer costs six and a fourth cents; a glass of brandy, three cents; a glass of water with sugar and lemon, six cents. I should say that most of the other food-

stuffs are three times as high, or even higher, than they are at home. Every meal, whether it be breakfast, dinner or supper costs twenty-five cents.

"If you, my parents, or Fred, or Peter, or Dellmann, or anyone else should really feel a desire to come here, let him consider carefully what I have said above, and see to it that he takes due account of his purse. I should like to see all of you here, but I also know very well that none of you are suffering want where you are. If plenty of money is on hand, and the right determination and willpower accompanies it, then come on. I am told that the enticing accounts of emigrants in Missouri are very much exaggerated. I trust that my own experience in the inland will not lead me astray, and then I shall, if God wills it, write you true reports, which, I trust, may be good reports.

"I do not know whether Adolph will go farther than Pittsburg.

"Goodbye then, till I write you from Cincinnati. If it should be necessary for you to write to me, then send your letters under my address in care of Mr. Karthaus, Merchant, South Gay Street, Baltimore.

"In politics a great lull seems to obtain here at the present time.

"July 17, 1833.

"I hasten to conclude this letter in order to give it to our captain who will depart again in a few days. We shall leave at once, for our wagon is already loaded. Yesterday evening I had a talk with an American who is acquainted in Cincinnati. He also knows Mr. Whithnall, who is said to be a rich and very highly respected gentleman. My new acquaintance does not doubt in the least but what I shall get along very well there.

"Accept greetings from your loving son,

HERMANN."

"To Dellmann:

The English dialect in America is the same as in England, as I am assured here. The local book stores do not have any work on this point.

"Reuter, our landlord, requests Fred to send him or to bring some musical compositions.

H."

FROM HERMANN STEINES'S DIARY ON HIS WAY FROM BALTIMORE TO PITTSBURG.

"July 19, 1833. Today we came thru Littletown, forty-two miles from Baltimore, a town corresponding to its name; then thru Gettysburg, fifty-two miles from Baltimore, a pretty little city with a university and a theological seminary. Today we halted for the night fifty-four miles from Baltimore.

"July 20. Today we traveled seventeen miles. It was very warm. In the evening Mrs. Niederhuebner gave birth to a son in the inn-keeper's barn. Had a violent thunderstorm to-day. Crossed the southern mountain chain.

"July 21. This morning I went ahead of the wagons, and after walking six miles I reached Chambersburg. Upon inquiry I soon found Mr. Scheibler. He invited me to stay until the next day, which I did, and spent a very pleasant day in conversation. Kremer from Kettwig lives in Williamsport, where he is said to be doing well.—United Brethren.—Prison.—Papermill where paper is made of straw.

"July 22. At half past seven I started on my way toward St. Thomas, which is at the foot of the northern mountains. Scheibler accompanied me for more than an hour. I arrived at St. Thomas at half past ten. It is seven miles from Chambersburg. Three miles farther, at the foot of the northern mountains is Lowdentown. Here I crossed the mountains, and nine miles farther in the valley I came to McConnellsburg. — Pitiful aspect of the mountain forest. — Poor soil so far. — Thunder and lightning. — Met a gentleman from Wisbaden, who was very much discontented. — Rabble in America. — In the mountains I overtook the wagon which I had allowed to precede me in Chambersburg. — The teamster's method of driving. — Strowbridge mountains. — Scrubridge.

"July 23. From McConnellsburg to Licking Creek, seven miles. — If I speak English with the Americans the usual question is: 'How long have you been in America, or in this country?' And when I answer: 'Since the twelfth of this month,' they are astonished and ask further: 'Where did you learn English?' And when I tell them: 'In Germany,' then they are very much astonished that one is able to learn English in Germany. — Very mountainous. — Slow journey. — Poor, sterile region. — To-day I crossed Sidling's hill. — The wagon with the other passengers stayed behind two miles, while I found lodging on the summit of the mountain, twelve miles from McConnellsburg. — Bar-room. — Barkeeper. — Reception of the baggage. — Very hot and dry.

"July 24. After crossing Raise hill to-day we came into the valley of the Junietta creek. This valley is very romantic and has much in common with Wupper valley near Elberfeld and Sonnborn. Seventeen miles on this side of McConnellsburg we came to a covered bridge which is not yet quite completed. We are camping in this bridge which is near the village of Bloodyrun. — Found many botanical specimen.

"July 25. Eight miles from Bloodyrun we crossed the Junietta valley and came to the city of Bedford, one hundred and forty miles from Baltimore and one hundred from Pittsburgh. Here we left the valley and four miles farther on we came to the dividing of the road, one branch going to Wheeling and the other to Pittsburgh. After five more miles we came to Schellsburg. — This was a very rainy day. — Hospital fees.

"July 26. To-day we crossed the Alleghany Mountains. They begin one mile on this side of Schellsburg. For two miles they represent very high hills, then for five miles we were amid the real Alleghanies. Three miles from their summit I spent the night in a hotel called George Washington, President of the United States. Here I found a piano. This was the first opportunity after a long journey to edify myself by playing this instrument. — The language of

German Americans and pure German. — Abundance of flowers in the Alleghanies. — Cholera in the United States. — Newspapers. — Seventy-six miles from Pittsburg.

"July 27. Over the summit of the Alleghanies — a hilly plateau — four miles, then five miles more of broken country to Stoystown, which lies at the foot of Laurel Hill. This I ascended for two miles and spent the night. — Fifty-seven miles from Pittsburg.

"July 28. After a march of three miles we were on the summit of Laurel Hill. Seven miles farther on we came to Legenier and from there thru the extremely lonely valley of the Loyalannah Creek seven or eight miles to the village of Youngstown, where we spent the night. — Ten miles from Greensburg.

"July 29. About noon we were in Greensburg, a pretty little town, where we took dinner which was served in fairly good German style. Three miles farther we reached Grapeville and after two more miles we came to Adamsburg where we spent the night.

"July 30. To-day I completed the journey to Pittsburg after a day's march of twenty-five miles. Four miles from Adamsburg I reached Jacksonville, two miles farther Stewartsville, seven miles from there I came into the pretty valley of the Turtle creek, where I saw hard coal, six or seven miles farther came Wilkinsburg, after two more miles, East Liberty, and three miles farther, Pittsburg, which is situated in the valley. So I have at last finished my journey on land and now the Ohio will soon carry me to that region, the name of which is on the lips of so many oppressed Germans. — I secured lodging with a German, Mr. August Fuchs, First and Front Street, South of Market Street. Here I met the families of Knecht and of Dings and young Hammerstein and Glaser, who had left Soligen in March and had made the journey here via New York, Albany and Erie. They were staying here to await the subsiding of the cholera epidemic in the western states. Now they have decided to undertake, at least a part of the journey to the state of Missouri.

"July 31. At last the wagon containing our possessions arrived this afternoon."

## LETTER OF HERMANN STEINES.

"St. Louis, Missouri,  
November 8, 1833.

"My dear Parents, Brothers and Sisters, and Friends:

"Doubtless you will think, after reading the salutation, that this will be a long letter, and I am really concerned about satisfying your various expectations, because some of you will expect me to write favorably and others unfavorably concerning oft-discussed subjects. Upon serious thought you must all see that it is not becoming in me, at the present time, to express an opinion of any kind concerning these matters. I can only tell what I have seen and heard, and what I have personally experienced. Whether or not the life of the settler in the great North American forests is really as beautiful as Duden has described it, or whether I should advise for or against emigration you must not expect me to say in this letter. My residence here has been too short to give advice, my acquaintance with the life of the farmer too limited, and my judgment, perhaps, somewhat prejudiced. I trust that you have received my letter which was written in Baltimore, and which was sent to Germany by Captain Laun. At that time I was very much discontented on account of the great number of unfortunate persons which I saw on every hand. Their number is indeed very great in the sea-ports: Disappointed speculators, adventurers, impoverished persons, and other unfortunates, who, as you may well imagine, attribute their misfortune to the country they are now in.

"But first let me tell you something about my journey. After five days in Baltimore Adolph and his family, together with several other Germans and myself departed for Pittsburg. On the 30th of July we reached Pittsburg. On account of the low stand of the water, river navigation was suspended, except for a few small boats which made irregular trips. Cousin Adolph rented a room with a German inn-

keeper, August Fuchs, a Saxonian, and I also took board and lodging in the same house. Here we found Peter and Daniel Knecht from Wippe, Dings, Hammerstein and Glaser. On the 11th of August a small steam-boat, the 'Alleghenia,' departed from Pittsburg. Adolph and the rest decided to wait for higher water, but Daniel Knecht and I departed on the boat. On August 25th we arrived in Cincinnati. My goal had now been reached. We rented two rooms from W., and I began to look for employment. My letters of introduction did not help me at all. W. is not the man that he is reported to be in our country. He is a carpet weaver and obliged thus to earn his living. His adjoining building is a wretched tenement for poor people. He speaks in ugly terms about his brother, who surely ought not to come here, if he relies upon his rich (?) brother in Cincinnati.

"I have delivered the letter to A. Herder. In his shop he is offering wares from Solingen for sale. He is not doing a good business. In order to make money in that sort of enterprise, it is necessary to have the greatest possible variety of goods, to advertise freely, and not become discouraged if the returns are at first not great. Much of the goods from Solingen is entirely out of fashion here. Emigrants undertake a great risk if they bring a stock of goods and rely on a speculator's chance of disposing of them. Knecht and Dings have learned this lesson. If the goods are really first-class they will find purchasers, but even then the profit is small. Knecht could not dispose of his goods at all, either in Pittsburg or in Cincinnati, and here in St. Louis he has sold them at a slight profit. Nothing is lost in the handling of goods that are actually in fashion here, but even then it is not worth the trouble.

"Duden has written truthfully about this matter on p. 338, as he has told the truth in general, even tho his descriptions are sometimes too picturesque. If only prospective emigrants would follow strictly the directions and advice which he gives in his book!

"Mr. W's brother lives in Woodburn near Dayton, sixty miles from Cincinnati. I called on him but did not find him at home. His wife read the letter and regretted very much that her husband was not at home. So I had failed to find my luck in this house also. I went back and visited Doctor von Aschen at Miamisburg, where I spent the night. Dr. von A. owns a farm and lives very contentedly but not elegantly. On account of personal illness he is not able to attend to his estate as he ought to. His younger brother, who did not do well here, is on his way back to Bremen.

"After I returned to Cincinnati I began seriously to look for employment. Manufacturing plants for chemicals are found only on the Atlantic coast, and as there are no apothecaries here either, I was obliged to apply to druggists for a position. Only one druggist was inclined to give me employment, and he stated that could give me only board and lodging for my work. This was too niggardly for me. Since neither Kencht nor myself could make headway in Cincinnati, we left on the 11th of September on the steam-boat "Banner" for St. Louis, where we arrived on the 29th of the same month. Here I repeated my endeavors and was lucky enough to find employment. Yesterday I closed a formal contract with Dr. Craft, my new employer. I have agreed to stay with him till the 31st of December, 1834, and at that time I shall receive \$100.00 in cash (in Spanish money), twenty dollars worth of books, in addition to my board, lodging and washing. On my part I am obliged to prepare medicines and to assist in his medical practice. This will be of great benefit to me. I shall now learn the secret and methods of American physicians and American medicines. At the conclusion of my contract I shall undertake the practice of medicine myself, and hope then to be able to live better than a common apothecary. Even now I am better paid than I was in Elberfeld, or for that matter, any where else, and I lead a free and comfortable life. On Sundays the American physician practices only in cases of emergency, and even during the week they do not overwork. In the morning, before 8:30, and in the

evening, after 6:30 I pursue my own studies. Thus you see I am wanting in nothing, and I live as happily as I possibly could in Germany. Only the thought of the great distance between me and my dear ones makes me wish that I were back in Meurs or in Elberfeld. I live well here, enjoy the respect of the members of the household, and have intercourse with cultured people. I am making rapid progress in the use of the English language, and shall soon be able to get along very well. My study of English while yet in Germany has given me an inestimable advantage. Without this start I might, perhaps, not have found employment at all.

"On the 6th of October Adolph, the brothers Kochs, and Meyer from Remscheid arrived here. I had met the two Kochs in Cincinnati by accident. They spoke to me on the street and told me that they had been there for more than four weeks. Now they are boarding and lodging with Adolph. In addition to those mentioned above the following are here: Wentz from Solingen, who has been ill a long time, and is now in the act of moving to a farm which is ten miles from Duden's place; Gottschalk from Borkhaus, who has just recovered from a serious attack of billious fever; Wirtz from Remscheid, Halbach from Loehdorf, A. Knecht who works in the arsenal, the young Engels with their widowed mother from Stoecken near Schrodberg who also work in the arsenal, Becker (Luengen's brother-in-law) and Becker (Deus' cousin). Dings, Peter, Knecht, Hammerstein and Glaser are expected to arrive any day from Pittsburg. I am not able to write you concerning the affairs of these people in detail. So much for this time—some are doing well while others are very wretched. He who has no good trade or business, and no money to make the necessary purchases has every reason to be downhearted.

"The profession of furniture makers and of joiners is at present very lucrative, as is also the work of the shoemaker and of the tailor. Bakers, saddlers, tanners, brewers and many others are unable to find work. It is unwise to put one's reliance wholly upon any profession. Each artisan ought to have a small reserve of money, or should locate in such a

manner that he can carry on agriculture on the side. In the eastern cities and all along the river and canal highways countless German artisans are found seeking work. Occasionally even a German scholar is seen engaged in the humblest sort of labor. There is no exaggeration in what I am telling you. Those who rely entirely upon a single profession must take things as they come. Frequently the kind of work desired is found and the participant fares well. No one is likely to perish, but the rough work of the unskilled laborer is not agreeable to all. Sometimes the grave mistake is made by immigrants to engage in business enterprises before they have mastered the language of the country. Such endeavors frequently end disastrously. In the last analysis, Agriculture is the only safe basis upon which an immigrant can build his hopes. The fact that here and there an individual has succeeded in business or in professional enterprises by no means justifies others in predicting a like success for themselves. Circumstances, conditions of health, and like factors play too prominent a role in such matters. If Duden were only more carefully read and followed fewer people would speak disparagingly of him. It is usually those who have not heeded his advice who come to grief here. It is true that Duden has written rather picturesquely, but that must be attributed to his temperament and to his manner of looking at things. I am not familiar with all the phases of farm life, but so far as I do know it I hardly think that it would arouse reveries in me. Their life is very simple, and most of them, the new settlers especially, lack those things that beautify their homes and make them comfortable. Of food and drink they have an abundance. Their dwellings usually consist of only one room in which they live, cook, eat and sleep. What I have just said pertains to the poorer settlers. The wealthier, of course, live better, and sometimes boast of very handsome country homes.

"Another point to be considered is that the Germans in this country are not held together by social bonds. Thruout the whole of North America they live scattered like the Jews

in Europe. In the large cities along the Atlantic as also in the state of Ohio, German churches and schools are found, but they are usually in poor condition. English has taken a firm root in this country and is an absolute necessity for every immigrant. Only those who are thoroly Anglicised in customs and speech can feel at home here. As long, therefore, as Duden's plan (pp. 324 and 325)\* of settling in large companies, under common, competent guidance, of establishing cities, of preserving German speech and German customs, as long as this plan is not carried into execution, so long can the German not feel happy on American soil, even tho he lived in affluence. As long as conditions have not come to the state of affairs in Europe, of which Duden speaks on page 328, namely that the citizens of Germany have to break up their homes in order to escape total ruin, so long it is far better that they remain in their old environment, which is, after all, quite bearable, or that they wait, at least, till a company of wealthy persons can be formed, which by settling as a unit, can pursue their ideal ends in this new country. It is my candid conviction that all persons who cannot with absolute assurance count upon a definite amount of available capital, after their traveling expenses have been met, a capital, which Duden on page 237 places at 1,000 Thaler, or \$666.66, should positively desist from entertaining thoughts of emigration. The above quoted sum is the very lowest amount with which one can comfortably establish himself. One who has enjoyed the comforts of a German home will find difficulty in adjusting himself to the humble circumstances in which the needy classes of settlers live here. When I speak of 'needy classes' I do not mean those lacking in food, for there is enough to eat and drink, but I mean those who have to do without the comforts of a well established home. Almost all our countrymen who are in St. Louis at present have spent their money. Whether they become happy or unhappy depends solely upon circumstances. Those whose line of work is in

\*The reference to Duden's "Report" apply to the edition of this work published at Elberfeld in 1829.

demand will prosper. This is the case of cousin Adolph. Really he belongs to the class which ought not to be encouraged to come here. After he arrived here his earnings were all spent. Fortunately he found work at once, and now earns from \$1.25 to \$3.00 per day, since he is working by the piece. But it must be remembered that one cannot buy as much for \$2.00 in St. Louis as one can buy for \$1.00 in Solingen or any other German city. Almost all necessities are twice as high here as abroad. Meat and vegetables are in some instances cheaper here, or at least as cheap as at home. But even at that they are able to save something. Adolph's daughter Ida works at the house where I am staying and earns five dollars a month, while his son William is an apprentice to a furniture maker. He is obliged to work four years for this man, and receives an annual wage of \$30.00 and has an allowance of \$1.50 per week for board and lodging which he has with his own parents. During half the year his master sends the boy to school, part of the time to the day school and part time to the night school. In case of sickness he receives free medical attention and at the end of his apprenticeship he will get a number of tools. You will say, 'That does very well,' and so it does, but what if Adolph should become sick or should meet with some other accident or misfortune? This very week there were two German women here begging. Their husbands are sick and there is want everywhere. I repeat, that I wish to discourage every artisan from coming here, unless he is supplied with sufficient money to buy land. Now, if it is ill-advised for a poor artisan to come here, how much more ill-advised is it for a scholar, who has no money, and who does not desire to take up agriculture? Let no one think either that he could become a schoolmaster or preacher here. The newspapers frequently contain the advertisements of such persons, but only rarely do they find employment, and if they are employed their work is not as well paid as in their native country. A young single man is not so much to be pitied, because he can fight his way thru for some time, but if the disappointed person

happens to be the father of a family, then it is hard indeed. I repeat that \$666.00 is the absolute minimum with which one should attempt to make a start here. In my opinion two thousand Thaler is not too much. With this amount a handsome estate can be procured and everything can be established in first-class order. If the settler intends to purchase one or two slaves he needs to add another thousand Thaler. A settler thus established, if he is sound in body and has happy family relations, and finds pleasure in farm labor, I will grant, has found heaven on earth. Here no officer torments him, no ruler demands his children, no state taxes oppress him. I have seen country homes in Ohio and in Pennsylvania as well as here, in which the inhabitants lived a paradisaic life. If, on the other hand, one of the above named conditions is lacking such a paradise could easily be changed into a hell. (Compare Duden, page 298.) What Duden says on page 296 is well to be heeded. Oh, if you could suddenly become Americans in custom, in speech and in view-point, and could live happily and contented in the oak groves of the Missouri valley! But I will not say any more on this subject. Duden has said much on this point. Read him carefully, and take nothing lightly. Eliminate also some of the picturesqueness here and there from his account, and you will have the plain truth.

"At the outset I said that I would not say anything for or against coming here. If you should be able to find a second Germany here, as the Britain finds a second Britany, then much of the concern would be removed. This, however, is not the case, and I may safely assert, that on this account most of the German immigrants, and especially the educated part of their number never will feel perfectly satisfied, even if they should live in affluence and under the happiest conditions. The German spirit is wanting here. Of course, we have no cause for complaint because of our association with the Americans, I least of all. But the cordiality, or—, words cannot convey the idea, a certain undefinable something is wanting here. Surely I should like to see you here with me,

even if we were in the dense forest, lonely and concealed, but I want to see you happy, with rosy cheeks and bright eyes, and not, as is frequently the case here, with downcast, gloomy eyes. It is not enough to own a farm of eighty or more acres with all the necessary equipment, in order to live happily. Those who bear the germ of dissatisfaction in their breast will certainly bring misfortune along, and amid the unavoidable hardships of the journey and of the new settlement will feel this discontent augmented in a high degree. I regard it my duty to call your attention thus plainly to these things, for you are hardly in a position to evaluate conditions here accurately, since you are still living in the sweet anticipation of all the beautiful things which your imagination has pictured, and while, on the other hand, you still have all those unpleasant things about you, which your local situation bring about. How often I have heard people say: 'If Germany were only politically and economically constituted like the United States, what a paradise Germany would be compared with America!' This is not said to deter you in your plans, or to depreciate America. No, you will and must believe me, that I would welcome your coming here, and that I am far from being dissatisfied. Neither do I mean to say that the evils enumerated above would stand in your way to happiness and success. But my one wish is to see you happy and successful, and I am convinced, that compared with others, you live happily where you are, and for this reason I feel it my duty to call your attention to what is really at stake.

"If you have considered matters well, and if you are prepared to endure all sorts of hardships, and if you have the honest conviction that you emigrate more for the sake of your children than for yourself, then you may undertake the journey boldly and fearlessly, and your children will in time be grateful to you, even tho you yourself may have but little pleasure. But if you come, you must make up your mind that agriculture will be your future occupation. The European dream of an educational institution for American Germans would vanish like every other dream. On this

account I must advise you, Dellmann, not to come, for I know that you find more pleasure in differential and integral calculus than in agriculture. If Duden's plan could be realized, so that a second Germany could arise here, then, of course, it would be a different matter. If one of you would be sure to make a success here, it is you, uncle Lehberg. If you and your family were here, blessed with your usual good health, and had a thousand Prussian Thaler at your disposal, you would undoubtedly live more happily than you do in Unterlehberg.

"No one needs to expect to get rich here. The farmers live too far from the large cities. All their surplus produce are bought by hucksters who scour the country and usually buy cheaply. At the stores the farmers usually trade in their natural products for wares. In other words trade by barter obtains here. The American farmer has very little cash money, but even then he lives very happily. The greatest profit is to be expected from extensive live-stock raising. The immigrating German must not be carried away by the dream of acquiring great riches.

"F. Kochs and Meyer from Remscheid have been in Duden's country. They have confirmed everything that Duden has said about it. Duden and Eversmann are said to be disliked by many. Many Germans have settled in that region, among them are many of the nobility. The brothers von Spankeren from Wald live there. Duden's farm has not been tilled since 1830, and has therefore become perfectly wild again.

"In St. Louis I have found many dance halls and billiard halls.

"I have had a very hard journey. I have made it in the cheapest possible manner. An intensity of heat such as I have never experienced before—30° to 32° Reaumur, bed-bugs, mosquitoes, and many other things have made the journey a very hard one. It will be impossible for you to travel in the manner that I did. Until now I have used 120 Berlin Thaler, and I have lived most economically. You may

make your own calculations on the basis of these figures. If you come, come by way of New Orleans, even tho the seajourney should cost a little more than to Baltimore or New York. In the interior of North America everything is very expensive for travelers. You will see at once that the trip via New Orleans is less expensive in the long run, and less difficult. The loading and unloading of the boxes and trunks, the shallow water of the Ohio, the very toilsome journey by land, the fact that the steamboats are so easily stranded on sand-bars, and many other inconveniences prove that the route via New Orleans is not only much more convenient, but I believe also cheaper. But if you choose the New Orleans route you must NOT come in the summer.

"The Mississippi is a little wider than the Rhine but not as deep. The ferry charges are  $12\frac{1}{2}$  cents per individual. — During the month of October we had a number of night frosts, but now the weather is mild and beautiful. — Cholera has raged in all parts of America. We have gone thru highly infected regions. — The women here are very lazy. They nearly always sit in rocking chairs. — It is rumored that land is to be reduced to fifty or seventy-five cents an acre. — If one travels second-class on a steamboat, he ought, by all means to pay in advance the amount which will exempt him from the burden of carrying fire-wood. I have suffered very much under this task.\* — Pittsburg is a flourishing manufacturing city. The market there is the cheapest of the cities I have visited. Coal costs hardly anything. — Consider what I have said in regard to the season in which you ought to make the trip. You know how I fared during the four weeks from Pittsburg here. Go by way of New Orleans for by that route you can bring all the things you need direct from Europe. See Duden, page 333. Everything is terribly dear here. — Reuter in Baltimore has treated Adolph and me like a cut-

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\*In the early days of steam-boating on our American rivers the practice obtained to let second-class passengers work out part of their fare by having them carry cordwood, which was then used instead of coal, from the river's bank on board the boat. It is this work Mr. Steines refers to above.

purse. Warn others! — On September 5, P. Kuerten and family of Neuenhaus arrived at Cincinnati, and they are still there, on account of sickness. The men have been obliged to seek work on the canal. They hope to come here soon.

"Duden has written enough about everything, so that my letter seems superfluous indeed. Read Duden carefully for he has not written in vain. If you are really in earnest and intend to spend your remaining years in peace, then, brave the hardships of the journey and come here. Here it is quiet enough, and the farmer, when he has once established himself, has a very comfortable living.

"Now a few words to you, my mother and my sisters, in order that you not become intimidated by my letter, for I did not intend to do that. If you feel strong enough in body to endure the hardships of the journey, and buoyant enough in spirit to participate in the attempt of realizing the fond dream of your men folks, then we shall all be happy and greatly benefitted. The older members of our family will not be materially benefitted by coming here, but your interest in your children must be the deciding factor if you take this step. You women must have a clear understanding with your men.

"I cannot refrain from giving the following advice: a) Germans who are accustomed to work hard and whose mode of living makes but few demands upon luxuries should not come to St. Louis with less than \$1,000.00 in cash; b) those accustomed to comforts and to beauty in the household should not come with less than \$2,000.00; c) those who wish to keep slaves should not come with less than \$3,000.00, and even more. On the other hand too great an amount of wealth is by no means to be recommended, for very rich persons, accustomed to many servants, usually become very unhappy here. The least semblance of aristocratic vanity is severely ridiculed here.

"If you should come, you must be prepared not to meet with the same consideration which you are accustomed to over there. People will pass you by coldly, for you will be

among strangers. When you have finally settled on your own homestead, you must not pretend to have any special claim upon the world, but by uprightness of action you must acquire the respect of those around you, in which respect alone you can be happy, and then in the narrow circle of your families, and in the solitude and beauty of nature you must endeavor to find the wished-for happiness.

"Wirtz who came from Remscheid has gone to his farm. Halbach works at the arsenal. Bedkers, Deus' cousin, works at the carpenter trade, and another one of the Beckers, Leungen's brother-in-law, lives on the other side of the river, in the state of Illinois, where he has established a glue factory and a buckskin-tannery. Melchers stayed in Baltimore, and Beunger was seen in Pittsburg.

"No one gets along so well in this country as he who is able to do things with his own hands. For this reason do not fail to bring Uncle Lehberg with you when you come. I imagine he has earned enough at his loom to pay for his fare. Have him bring his loom with him, for if he uses his head as well as his hands here he will not lack bread. Do not sell your belongings for a trifle, await your time, for it does not pay to hasten too much.

"When I have served my time under my present employer, I may go to the country, especially if you should write me that you are coming. By the end of May, 1834, I expect a letter from you, in which you must tell me whether you intend to come the following winter or not. If you do come I do not intend to enter into a new agreement with my present employer. I am sorry enough now that I have agreed to work here till December 31, 1834. I was really forced to do so, for Dr. Craft wished it that way, and where else was I to go? I am sorry that I got into this sort of business, tho I did get into it by accident. The doctor is an empiric, or in common terms a quack, such a one as are found in great number among the American physicians. I was introduced to him by a good friend. The doctor asked me a few questions, as for instance, whether I could make pills for purifying the

blood, and also if I could make wonder balsam and healing balsam. These articles are imported from Vienna. I resolved at that moment to take advantage of the stupidity of the physician in order to pull myself out of a pinch, and answered: 'Of course!' Thereupon he asked me to move in, and said that after a few weeks of probation we should come to some agreement. I have made a large quantity of pills for him, and mixed a lot of balsam, without really knowing the exact ingredients. I must have done my work well, for he engaged me, as you know, on November 7. I strongly urge all apothecary helpers not to emigrate. I have visited all the druggists without success, and if I had not found this subterfuge, I should still be without work.

"I think, you, Dellmann and Christine, as also the rest of you will understand why I have advised Dellmann not to come here. It would mean ruin to his career as teacher. I cannot understand how all of us could have been so thoughtless in October, 1832, as to try to send him here. If after we have settled something should open up for him, then it is time enough for him to come. In the meantime his prospects are too bright, and the view from his own window is too pretty to make the change. Here one sees nothing but woods, very, very dense woods. If one earns money the new conditions do not make much difference, but if one does not prosper, discontent easily asserts itself.

"I think that you now have an account of America such as no one else has ever written you. The letters from America are usually too onesided. As a rule it is well to be incredulous about superficially written letters and pamphlets.

"Without doubt it is well to be here in America, but only under certain conditions. Even under the most favorable conditions the immigrant will sorely miss his home surroundings, so long accustomed to in his fatherland. If he settles by himself he will be lonely, even if he is an educated man. Even among German-Americans he will not feel wholly comfortable unless he can speak the English language. If it were possible, as Duden has suggested, to establish a German

state here, then the spirit of things German could be made to flourish, and the Americans would learn to understand that the Germans also belong to the educated and cultured people of Europe. In such an environment the settler would feel more comfortable, for he would then live in a second Germany, so to speak.

"Today is the thirteenth of November and perhaps you may get this letter at the beginning of January, in which case I wish you a Happy New Year.

"Countless greetings to my relatives.

HERMANN."

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Note:—These diaries and letters of Steines, *et al.*, will be continued in the *January Review*. In them is revealed the Americanizing of the immigrant. A change of viewpoint takes place. He is proud of being "a free citizen of the United States of North America." In inviting his parents to join him, Steines writes: "There will be inconveniences for all of us to face, but if you wish to see our whole family living in the same country, a country where freedom of speech obtains, where no spies are evesdropping, where no wretched simpletons criticise your every word and seek to detect therein a venom that might endanger the life of the state, the church, and the home, in short, if you wish to be really happy and independent—then come here and become farmers in the United States. Here you will find a class of beings that think sensibly, and that still respect the man in man. Oppressive military systems and exorbitant taxation are foreign to this country. Nature has blessed this land abundantly. Here one fully enjoys what one earns, here no despots are to be feared, here the law is respected, and honest citizens do not tolerate the least infringement or interference by human authority."—The Editor.

## ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF MEDICINE IN MISSOURI.

BY DR. H. W. LOEB, ST. LOUIS, MO.

An Address delivered at the Missouri Centennial Celebration held at Columbia, Missouri, January 8, 1918.

A theme as complex as this cannot be approached except with a feeling of diffidence, and yet it is so worthy and so inspiring that no member of the profession can decline such an opportunity to glorify the hundred years work of medicine in Missouri. Medicine is an exacting task-mistress who is content with no less than a life devotion. And rightly so, for she has collected together the sciences of Chemistry, Physics, Anatomy, and Physiology for her own beneficent purposes. Compare medicine in this regard with that malefficient combination of sciences which during these hundred years have increased and multiplied beyond the wildest stretch of the imagination the means of death and destruction, by utilizing the exactness of mathematics, the certainty of physics, and the inexorableness of chemistry. Harnessed to the chariot of Mars, these sciences are as furies fraught with woe to the world, but when Hygeia holds the reins, they bring comfort and health to afflicted humanity.

To save and to help have been the battle cry of medicine in all generations, and this has been handed down from time immemorial. In this view, I could, of course, describe the medicine of the last hundred years by pointing to the profession as it is today and say "This is its work and must therefore reflect its character," but if I should attempt to analyze the picture, I fear I could only give you fragments which would tax your own discrimination and judgment to harmonize.

Perhaps it will be best to put a few of the great figures upon the screen, as it were, to show some of the activities for which they were held in high regard and to attempt to join these together to make a story more or less fitting to the occasion.

The first physicians of Missouri were, as a rule, men of good education for their times, men who would have graced the profession in the older countries of the world, but the spirit of adventure and the love of the open places made them pioneers in a new land.

The one outstanding medical man of a hundred years ago was Bernard G. Farrar, scholar, statesman, pioneer, soldier and, above all, man of medicine. He was a potent element in the community from the time he came to the state in 1806, when twenty-one years of age, until he fell a victim of the cholera epidemic in 1849. In 1818, he was at the height of his reputation and was known far and wide for his surgical skill. He was a worthy successor of that other great pioneer, Dr. Antoine Francois Saugrain, who died in 1820.

Contemporaneous with him was William Carr Lane, first Mayor of St. Louis and for nine times elected to that office, a man of extensive acquaintance and of great personal as well as political influence.

In 1835, an army surgeon named Wm. Beaumont was ordered to Jefferson Barracks and from that time on became a resident of this state, an honored citizen who left the army rather than remove from the place that he had chosen for his home. He had already written the wonderful account of his experiments upon Alexis St. Martin and his reputation as a scientist had therefore preceded him. It is doubtful, however, if his associates ever fully appreciated what he had done for physiology and medicine. It was left for Sir Wm. Osler and our own lamented Jesse S. Myer to give him the place for which he so modestly worked. He passed away in 1853, beloved by all who knew him.

One of the most interesting men of the time was one John Sappington, who came to Saline county, Missouri, from Tennessee about 1820. He took up the cudgels against the practice of bloodletting and calomel dosage for fevers and advocated the use of Peruvian bark or quinine for the cure of all fevers which he claimed belonged to one class. When quite an old man he wrote a book on *The Theory and Treat-*

*ment of Fevers*, published in Arrow Rock, Missouri, which even today excites a great deal of interest. His text is preceded by numerous testimonials from citizens of Saline, Cooper, and Howard county, Missouri, and from Tennessee, Alabama, and other states accounting the value of his treatment and recommending it most highly. Inasmuch as he claims to have sold a million boxes of his pills, one might consider him, in the light of modern day practice, unprofessional. But we have the assurance of Dr. Gregory who knew him, that he was fully accepted by the profession. Indeed, there is no attempt made in his book to deceive, but every effort to oppose the views of Currie and Rush by giving the light of day to his own facts and theories.

The decade beginning 1840 was destined to become an important period in the development of the medical profession of Missouri and of St. Louis in particular for the tide of emigration brought into the state such men as McDowell, Pope, J. B. Johnson, Linton, Pollak, Pallen, Gregory, McPheeters, Brainard, Jno. S. Moore, Boisliniere, Hodgen, Curtman, and Litton, men whose memory still bears witness to the important place they occupied not only in Missouri medicine but quite as much in the annals of the profession in America.

Even to this day we cannot speak of McDowell without corresponding mention of Pope. They were natural leaders of men, both surgeons of wide attainments and they became great protagonists, each with his devoted followers breaking the profession up into two hostile camps with all the bitterness and acrimony that could be engendered in a small city such as St. Louis was at the time.

Joseph Nash McDowell, nephew of Ephraim McDowell, who performed the first ovariectomy, was born in 1805. He was trained in medicine by his brother-in-law Dr. Daniel Drake and Samuel D. Gross, who then resided in Cincinnati, and upon coming to St. Louis, fresh from his teaching experiences in the Medical College at Cincinnati, he established the first medical college in the state, which was then known

as the Kemper Medical College. He continued in the direction of the Missouri Medical College which succeeded this institution until he espoused the cause of the Confederacy at the beginning of the war.

Charles Alexander Pope, born in 1818, was also a student of Daniel Drake but he received his degree from the University of Pennsylvania and then spent two years in post-graduate study in Paris. On coming to St. Louis in 1842, he became identified as professor of anatomy, with the Medical Department of St. Louis University which was established in 1842. It did not take him long to become dominant in the school and this dominance continued until the end of the Civil War in 1865.

Daniel Brainerd who was one of the original faculty of the Medical School, founded by St. Louis University, was not long a resident of Missouri. In 1843 he removed to Chicago where he established the Rush Medical College at the end of the year.

John T. Hodgen perhaps occupies a higher national position than any Missouri physician during the past hundred years. From the time he entered the profession in 1848 until his death in 1882, his life was one of continually advancing usefulness. He became Surgeon-General of the Missouri forces during the war and thus laid the foundation for much of the riper surgery of his later years. His great device, the Hodgen splint, born of his experience in the Civil War, is still justifying its great value in the present war.

M. L. Linton (1806-1872), who was of great influence as a teacher, was the author of a book on the *Outlines of Pathology* and established the *St. Louis Medical and Surgical Journal*, the first medical journal in the state, in 1843.

Louis Charles Boisliniere, born in 1816 and died in 1896, one of the foremost obstetricians of this country, is still remembered for his kindly spirit, his lovable attention and help to young men entering the profession, and for his wonderful ability as a teacher.

Simon Pollak, who even in his advanced age was always on the side of the progressive in medicine, founded the first medical clinic in the state and in 1861 established the first Eye and Ear Clinic west of the Mississippi.

There are many more great men of these and later times that are deserving of mention: Abram Litton who for a half century was a teacher of chemistry; E. H. Gregory, the kindly old man who almost as long was a teacher of surgery; J. W. Jackson, who established the first railroad hospital in America; W. B. Outten, who developed what might be called the profession of railway surgery; J. W. Wood and I. N. Ridge, pioneers of Kansas City; W. H. Duncan, who found time in spite of his large country practice to act for so many years as treasurer of the University of Missouri; Charles O. Curtmann, professor of chemistry; Henry H. Mudd, surgeon and teacher of note; O. P. Lankford, the successor of McDowell; Adam Hammer, talented but erratic; G. M. B. Maughs, at one time Mayor of Kansas City, a practitioner of note in both St. Louis and Kansas City; Thos. F. Rumbold, said to have been the first rhinologist in America; G. A. Moses, father and son, both well and favorably known; the erudite E. W. Shaufler; the pioneer ophthalmologist, John Green; the courteous and talented C. E. Michel; A. C. Bernays, brilliant surgeon untrammelled by convention; the handsome J. B. Johnson, of whom it was said that he never willingly accepted a fee; P. G. Robinson, who hailed South Carolina as his birthplace but whose French descent was in every move and gesture; Walter Wyman, who as surgeon-general was responsible for much of the efficiency of the Public Health Service; Gustav Baumgarten, one of the first practitioners of the state to achieve modern scientific medicine; J. K. Bauduy, whose command of language was the wonder of his friends; Walter B. Dorsett, achieving a high position in a too short life; Wm. G. Moore, whose words came as from lips of honey; Jesse S. Myer, the most promising young man in the profession; Joseph C. Mulhall, easily the foremost laryngologist of his time in this portion of America; Frank J. Lutz, always

in the forefront of medical organization; James Pleasant Parker, who virtually gave up his life to establish the *Annals of Ophthalmology and Othology*; C. H. Hughes, the debonnaire; A. V. L. Vrokaw, pioneer in radiography; and W. E. Fischel, I. N. Love, G. C. Crandall, J. P. Bryson, Hugo Summa, A. B. Sloan, J. E. Tefft, J. W. Trader, L. Bremer, W. P. King, T. F. Prewitt, John M. Richmond and a host of others whose names have adorned the profession of Missouri.

I might continue this catalogue of medical men who have brought credit to their profession during the past one hundred years, in fact I am sure that many have been omitted who are quite as deserving of mention as those whom I have recalled. Furthermore, there are many belonging to this category who cannot be included as they are still happily in the work. As we leave them, let us study for a few moments the institutions which they brought forth.

The two medical schools which were founded in the early forties remained for a quarter of a century the only medical colleges in the state with the exception of the Humboldt Medical College which, after a few years, gave up its pedagogic ghost. In 1869 a college was organized in Kansas City, and during the twenty-five years succeeding this the founding of a medical college was such an easy and pleasant process that it was indulged in ad libidum. Medical college establishment followed, during these years, well-known laws of evolution. From the old medical college tree a branch would start another medical school, and the branchlet would follow the same process until the parent institution could no longer be recognized in the development of its progeny. In this quarter of a century upward of twenty-five medical colleges were incorporated, all private institutions. I would not have you think that the men responsible for this remarkable fecundity were recreant to their obligation as medical men or that they had improper motives in this activity. They were, in the main, seriously interested in their work and were enthusiastic and zealous in their aims and effort. And, after all, there was not so much difference in the medical and perhaps

pedagogic ability of the professors and those who were perforce outside of the professorial field and who, except for the wonderful fertility of American laws of incorporation, would never have been able to partake of the succulent pabulum upon which the professors were feeding. Be this as it may, they have lived their day, have performed their earthly function, good or bad, and now, three institutions, adherent to the universities, are called upon to train such students in medicine as come to the State of Missouri for that purpose.

The hospitals too have been greatly changed since the first Sister's Hospital was started nearly a hundred years ago. The private hospital is being gradually evolved into a public institution or at least it is doing more and more public work and is becoming more and more dependent on public support and direction.

Coincidentally the profession of nursing has grown with that of medicine, evidenced not only by the large number of self-sacrificing women who have accepted the call of humanity but also by the extension of the field of usefulness which is widening day by day.

This brings me to the conclusion of my theme—the public work of the physicians of Missouri for the past hundred years. It would be vain to attempt an enumeration of what the profession has done in this regard, for our medical men have always been in the forefront when they were needed. Witness their untiring devotion to the free institutions of the state, their willing self-sacrifice in epidemics, more especially that of cholera in 1849 when nearly 5,000 died from this scourge and of yellow fever in 1878 and '79. Missouri physicians served in the war of 1812 and in the Mexican War. They were divided in their allegiance during the Civil War but they were always on the side of humanity, whatever flag waved over them.

And today they are again serving under the flag of their Country and humanity. One-sixth of the entire profession of Missouri have volunteered their services, constituting fully one-half of those available for duty. All honor to these men

who are fulfilling the hundred year old traditions of the Medical Profession of Missouri and who are risking their lives to care for the men who have entered this terrible struggle to make an abiding place for free men in every land.

INEFFICIENCY OF WATER TRANSPORTATION IN  
MISSOURI—A GEOGRAPHICAL FACTOR IN  
THE DEVELOPMENT OF RAILROADS.

BY SAM T. BRATTON.

Missouri is situated in the central part of the great interior lowland of the United States, and this location places it in a region which has a climate characterized as continental, with hot summers and cold winters. The latter condition has a direct relation to the problem of inefficiency of water transportation.

The state has access to three trunk lines of drainage, the Mississippi, the Missouri, and the Arkansas rivers. The Mississippi flows along the entire eastern border; the Missouri forms nearly half of the western boundary then bends abruptly eastward and crosses the state to the Mississippi; the Arkansas system does not reach the southern boundary of the state, and it is only through minor tributaries that a part of the state is drained.

On account of a lack of efficient means of local transportation in the areas lying near the rivers, and a lack of navigable tributaries from the hinterland, the Mississippi and the Missouri furnished transportation for restricted areas only. The Mississippi and the Missouri are mature streams meandering through wide flood plains, therefore the providing of local transportation in the adjacent areas was handicapped by the topography of the region. The adjacent bluffs are from one hundred to two hundred feet high and at irregular intervals short, steep valleys from the upland reach the main streams, but, owing to their gradient, do not readily permit roads of easy grades. Also, many of these short streams have filled the valley of the main stream at their juncture to such an extent that the channel of the larger stream is forced far out into the flood plain, thus denying a landing

place for river traffic. A few larger valleys reaching the main streams from the upland provide an easy grade into the interior, but along these streams the rough topography again prevails, thus repeating the difficulties presented along the main streams.

After reaching the upland from the valleys the journey across country from one settlement to another was very difficult. One of the many troubles was high water. One party was eleven days making the journey from Lexington, the river port, to the northern part of Henry county, a distance of about sixty miles. They were held for four days at Davis Creek, and further on were forced to swim Blackwater Creek.<sup>1</sup> "Going to mill in those days (1839-1840) when there were no roads, no bridges, no ferry boats, was no small task where so many rivers and treacherous streams were to be crossed. Supplies were obtained at Harmony Mission, Bates county, and at Boonville, seventy-five miles away."<sup>2</sup>

Another difficulty in the way of local transportation along the valleys of the larger streams was the forest belt, some twenty or thirty miles wide, adjacent to the streams. This belt was general along the Mississippi throughout the entire eastern border, and along the Missouri as far west as the central part of the state. In some parts of the state these forests were utilized in the building of "plank" roads, but as permanent highways these roads were failures.

The lack of navigable tributaries from the hinterland, the second condition, needs further consideration. From the northern part of the State the Missouri river receives nine streams designated as rivers, only three of which, the Chariton, Grand, and Platte are navigable in their lower courses and then only for keel boats and barges. Although the Missouri Legislature declared the Grand River navigable to the northern part of the State there is little evidence that traffic on this stream was ever of much consequence.<sup>3</sup> A

<sup>1</sup>*History of Henry and St. Clair counties*, p. 90.

<sup>2</sup>*Loc. cit.*, p. 592.

<sup>3</sup>*Stevens, W. B., Missouri the Center State*, p. 110.

record has it that in 1842 a small steamer made two trips to the east and west forks in the western part of Livingston county, also that a steamer landed at Chillicothe in 1865,<sup>4</sup> but even the early fur traders considered only one of the many tributary streams of the Missouri, the Grand, as of any importance as far as their business was concerned.

From the south the Missouri received three navigable streams, the Osage, the Gasconade, and the La Mine. The topography of the region adjacent to these streams is also of the mature type, hence presents difficulties in reaching the uplands from the valleys. The most important of these rivers is the Osage, which was navigated for a few years by small steamers as far as Warsaw, Benton county. This was a water distance of some two hundred miles from its mouth, but a land distance of only about eighty miles, and in this entire distance parts of only six counties were served. The valley of the Osage was included in the territory of the American Fur Company, St. Louis, and in this valley "there were several posts, but they are scarcely ever mentioned in the annals of time."<sup>5</sup> The posts here referred to were Carondelet, Marias de Cygnes and Pomme de Terre.

Attempts to use the upper reaches of the Osage for commercial purposes were made but were never successful. In 1844 the steamer "Flora Jones" ascended the Osage to Harmony Mission in Bates county.<sup>6</sup> From accounts of the reception given this steamer by the inhabitants of the region it might be inferred that a second voyage was never attempted.

The Mississippi river receives six tributaries from Missouri north of the Missouri river, and four south of the river, none of which is of any commercial importance, because of the shortness of these streams and the rough topography of the adjacent regions. From the southern part of the state the Arkansas receives six tributaries, only one of which, the White river, has ever been of any commercial value, and its

<sup>4</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>5</sup>Chittenden, H. M., *History American Fur Trade of the Far West*, p. 947.

<sup>6</sup>Stevens, W. B., *Missouri the Center State*, p. 111.

influence was altogether local. For some years a few small steamers came up to Forsyth, Taney county, but the trip was both hazardous and difficult. Forty miles below Forsyth there is a series of rapids which were passed by means of a donkey engine and winch on board, and a tow line made fast to a tree at the top of the rapids.<sup>7</sup> Approach to the valley of the White river from the uplands is made difficult, as in other parts of the state, by the mature dissection of the adjacent regions.

Although the population of Missouri up to 1840 found ample room along the few navigable streams, those streams proved inadequate as transportation routes mainly because of difficulties of navigation and the winter season. Prior to the steamboat era, traffic on the river was by means of keel boats, barges and rafts. These could make fair headway down stream, but up stream the journey was extremely hazardous and difficult. The keel boat, the chief craft in use, was propelled by oars, and, when the wind was favorable, by sail; but such boats were usually pulled up the river by a rope fastened to the top of the mast and then passed through a ring and made fast to the bow of the boat. Men on shore walked along the bank of the stream and pulled the boat by means of this rope. Flat boats and barges were propelled up stream by using long setting-poles. The lower ends of these poles were placed on the bottom of the stream and the upper ends were held by men stationed along each side of the boat near the bow, facing the stern. When the men thus stationed walked along the boat's edge and pushed on the poles the craft was moved up stream.<sup>8</sup>

With the coming of the steamboats, chiefly after 1836, traffic on the river was somewhat easier, but the strong and shifting currents, the snags, and the many sand bars caused much trouble and great loss. During the steamboat period on the Missouri, (1836-1860), the average life of a boat was

<sup>7</sup>Loc. cit., p. 114.

<sup>8</sup>Houck, *History of Missouri*, II, p. 265.

estimated at only five years.<sup>9</sup> The log of the steamer "Omega" from St. Louis to Fort Union in 1843 gives an excellent example of the difficulties of river traffic even on the most famous of Missouri's water routes.<sup>10</sup> The boat left St. Louis on April 25th, and on May 5th had reached St. Joseph, Missouri. During this ten days the boat stopped eight times for wood, as the fuel need was always pressing, and in many instances difficult to obtain, had channel troubles every day, was forced to tie up over night eight times, was stopped by high winds two times, ran aground three times, stuck crosswise the channel one time and so remained all night.

The winter season coming just at the time when the outward movement of the surplus products from the farms and the inward movement of spring supplies were most needed, probably offered the greatest difficulty to satisfactory river traffic. An example of this winter tieup is shown by the City Hotel register of Boonville, in which is recorded the arrivals during each day in the year. The monthly totals for 1843 were as follows:

May.....	50	October.....	48
June.....	57	November.....	32
July.....	49	December.....	11
August.....	58	January.....	2
September.....	43	February.....	4

The record of the arrivals at the port of St. Louis of steamers from the Missouri, over the period from 1847 to 1851, shows a corresponding loss of traffic during the winter season.<sup>11</sup>

1847 May.....	63	January.....	0
1848 August.....	40	January.....	1
1849 April.....	63	January.....	0
1850 April.....	58	January.....	1
1851 June.....	48	January.....	0

An example of the amount of business done at St. Louis by river traffic from the Missouri is given by the engineer of the Pacific Railway in his report of 1851. The total freight,

<sup>9</sup> *Western Journal and Citizen*, I, p. 47.

<sup>10</sup> Chittenden, H. M., *History American Fur Trade of the Far West*.

<sup>11</sup> *Western Journal and Citizen*, I, p. 267.

both up and down stream, was over 65,000 tons, and the average price was 30 cents per ton. This volume of business was carried during seven months of fair navigation, and three months of difficult navigation. During the remaining two months the river was considered closed.

The region lying immediately along the Missouri and comprising some twenty-five counties had in 1850 a population of about 225,000, while the population of the entire state was about 680,000.<sup>12</sup> This region was producing much wealth, and had to depend upon the uncertainties of the river for transportation to and from the large markets. The following is a brief, partial summary of the resources of this area.<sup>13</sup>

Improved farms.....	acres.....	1,027,866
Value of machinery.....	dollars.....	1,323,612
Value of cattle.....	dollars.....	342,994
Value of sheep and swine.....	dollars.....	754,587
Wheat.....	bushels.....	969,237
Corn.....	bushels.....	12,196,438
Oats.....	bushels.....	1,815,923
Tobacco.....	pounds.....	2,998,978
Slaughtering.....	dollars.....	1,203,978

As a large part of these products was surplus and depended on the river for means of reaching the markets, the problem of river tariffs became important, and owing to the monopoly enjoyed by the boat owners, these tariffs were never satisfactory. Ruling tariffs from St. Louis to Boonville were submitted by the engineer of the Pacific Railway in his report of 1849, together with the proposed railroad charges, and a comparison of the two schedules shows the advantage to be on the side of the railroad as a carrier of both heavy and light freights.

The period of early settlement in Missouri may be said to cover the years from the founding of Ste. Genevieve in 1735, up to the Louisiana Purchase in 1804. The settlements were confined to the eastern section of the state and extended from New Madrid on the south, northward to St. Charles on the Missouri near its mouth, and had in 1804 an aggregate

<sup>12</sup>U. S. Census, 1850.

<sup>13</sup>Report, Engineer of Pacific, 1850.

population of nearly 10,000.<sup>14</sup> By 1821, when Missouri was admitted as a state, the population had increased to about 70,000 and had spread up the Missouri River to the Boon's Lick Country. From this time until the railroad era, beginning in the fifties, the growth of the state's population was rapid, (population in 1850, 680,000), but the thickly settled regions were still along the main stream valleys and in the adjacent regions. During this era of growth the state was largely dependent upon transportation by water, which may be summarized as follows:

Only a few counties with a population of less than one-third of the entire state had any water facilities.

The river counties lacked local means of getting products to and from the river.

River traffic, when reached, was very unsatisfactory because of difficulties offered, by the stream itself, by the winter season, and by the freight charges.

The greater part of the state had no water transportation whatever; the few main cross-country roads served but small areas and were well nigh impossible during most of the year; markets were too far from the producing areas for hauling by wagon, or for driving live stock on foot, hence the greater development of the state awaited the coming of railroads.

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<sup>14</sup>Viles, Jonas, *Population and Settlement in Missouri, Mo. Historical Review, V, p. 190, ff.*

EARLY DAYS ON GRAND RIVER AND THE  
MORMON WAR.

ROLLIN J. BRITTON.

FOURTH ARTICLE.

## THE MORMON LEADERS AS PRISONERS.

Returning to the Mormon leaders, who were prisoners, we quote Joseph Smith, Jr., when we say that on November 2, 1838, he, along with Sidney Rigdon, Hyrum Smith, Parley P. Pratt, Lyman Wight, Amasa Lyman and George W. Robinson, were started for Independence, Jackson county, Missouri, and encamped at night on Crooked River, under a strong guard commanded by Generals Lucas and Wilson. (*Millennial Star*, Vol. 16, pp. 510, 523, 525.) Continuing he says:

"Saturday, November 3, 1838, we continued our march and arrived at the Missouri River, which separated us from Jackson County, where we were hurried across the ferry when but few troops had passed. The truth was General Clark had sent an express from Richmond to General Lucas to have the prisoners sent to him and thus prevent our going to Jackson County, both armies being competitors for the honor of possessing 'the royal prisoners.' Clark wanted the privilege of putting us to death himself, and Lucas and his troops were desirous of exhibiting us in the streets of Independence.

"Sunday, 4th. We were visited by some ladies and gentlemen. One of the women came up and very candidly inquired of the troops which of the prisoners was the Lord whom the Mormons worshiped. One of the guards pointed to me with a significant smile and said, 'This is he.' The woman then turning to me inquired whether I professed to be the Lord and Savior. I replied that I professed to be nothing but a man and a minister of salvation, sent by Jesus Christ to preach the Gospel. This answer so surprised the woman that she began to inquire into our doctrine, and I preached a discourse both to her and her companions and to the wondering soldiers, who listened with almost breathless attention while I set forth the doctrine of faith in Jesus Christ,

and repentance, and baptism for remission of sins, with the promise of the Holy Ghost, as recorded in the second chapter of the Acts of the Apostles.

"The woman was satisfied and praised God in the hearing of the soldiers, and went away praying that God would protect and deliver us. Thus was fulfilled a prophecy which had been spoken publicly by me a few months previous—that a sermon should be preached in Jackson County by one of our elders before the close of 1838.

"The troops having crossed the river about ten o'clock we proceeded on and arrived at Independence, past noon, in the midst of great rain and a multitude of spectators, who had assembled to see us and hear the bugles sound a blast of triumphant joy, which echoed through the camp as we were ushered into a vacant house prepared for our reception, with a floor for our beds and blocks of wood for our pillows."

PERSONAL LETTER OF JOSEPH SMITH, JR., TO HIS WIFE.

The following letter written at this date by Joseph Smith, Jr., the original of which is now in possession of Apostle Heman C. Smith of Lamoni, Ia., conflicts slightly with this account as regards their treatment:

"Independence, Jackson Co., Missouri,  
November 4, 1838.

"My dear and beloved companion of my bosom, in tribulation and affliction: I would inform you that I am well and that we are all of us in good spirits as regards our own fate. We have been protected by the Jackson County boys in the most genteel manner, and arrived here in the midst of a splended parade, a little after noon. Instead of going to gaol we have a good house provided for us and the kindest treatment. I have great anxiety about you and my lovely children. My heart mourns and bleeds for the brethren and sisters, and for the slain of the people of God. Colonel Hinkle proved to be a traitor to the Church. He is worse than a Hull who betrayed the army at Detroit. He decoyed us unawares. God reward him. John Correll told General Wilson that he was going to leave the Church. General Wilson says he thinks much less of him now than before. Why I mention this is to have you careful not to trust them. If we are permitted to stay any time here we have obtained a promise that we may have our families brought to us. What God may do for us I do not know, but I hope for the best always in all circumstances. Although I go into death I will

trust in God. What outrages may be committed by the mob I know not, but expect there will be but little or no restraint.

"Oh! May God have mercy on us.

"When we arrived at the river last night an express came to General Wilson from General Clark, of Howard County, claiming the right of command, ordering us back, where or what place, God only knows; and there are some feelings between the officers. I do not know where it will end. It is said by some that General Clark is determined to exterminate. God has spared some of us thus far, perhaps he will extend mercy in some degree toward us yet. Some of the people of this place have told me that some of the Mormons may settle in this county as other men do. I have some hopes that something may turn out for good to the afflicted saints. I want you to stay where you are until you hear from me again. I may send for you to bring you to me. I cannot learn much for certainty in the situation that I am in, and can only pray for deliverance until it is meted out, and take everything as it comes with patience and fortitude. I hope you will be faithful and true to every trust. I can't write much in my situation. Conduct all matters as your circumstances and necessities require. May God give you wisdom and prudence and sobriety, which I have every reason to believe you will. Those little children are subjects of my mediation continually. Tell them that Father is yet alive. God grant that he may see them again. Oh! Emma, for God's sake do not forsake me nor the truth, but remember me. If I do not meet you again in this life, may God grant that we may—may we meet in heaven. I cannot express my feelings; my heart is full. Farewell, O my kind and affectionate Emma. I am yours forever, Your husband and true friend.

JOSEPH SMITH, JR."

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#### CONTINUATION OF DIARY OF JOSEPH SMITH, JR.

"General Clark arrived at Far West with one thousand six hundred men, and five hundred more were within eight miles of the city. Thus Far West has been visited by six thousand men in one week. When the Militia of the city (before any were taken prisoners) amounted only to about five hundred, whose arms having been secured, the mob continued to hunt the brethren like wild beasts, and shot several, ravished the women, and killed one near the city; no saint was permitted to go in or out of the city, and they lived on parched corn.

"General Clark ordered General Lucas, who had previously gone to Adam-ondi-Ahman with his troops, to take the whole of

the men of the Mormons prisoners and place such a guard around them and the town as will protect the prisoners and secure them until they can be dealt with properly, and secure all their property, till the best means could be adopted for paying the damages the citizens had sustained.

"Monday, 5th. We were kept under a small guard and were treated with some degree of hospitality and politeness, while many flocked to see us. We spent most of our time in preaching and conversation, explanatory of our doctrines and practice, which removed mountains of prejudice and enlisted the populace in our favor, notwithstanding their old hatred and wickedness towards our society.

"The brethren at Far West were ordered by General Clark to form a line, when the names of fifty-six present were called and made prisoners to await their trial for something they knew not. They were kept under a close guard.

"Shortly after our arrival in Jackson County, Colonel Sterling Price, (afterward General Price of Confederate fame) from the army of General Clark, came with orders from General Clark, who was Commander-in-Chief of the expedition, to have us forwarded forthwith to Richmond. Accordingly on Thursday morning we started with three guards only, and they had been obtained with great difficulty, after laboring all the previous day to get them. Between Independence and Roy's Ferry, on the Missouri River, they all got drunk, and we got possession of their arms and horses. It was late in the afternoon, near the setting of the sun. We traveled about half a mile after we crossed the river and put up for the night.

"Friday, 9th. This morning there came a number of men, some of them armed. Their threatenings and savage appearance were such as to make us afraid to proceed without more guards. A messenger was therefore dispatched to Richmond to obtain them. We started before their arrival, but had not gone far before we met Colonel Price with a guard of about seventy-four men, and were conducted by them to Richmond and put into an old vacant house, and a guard set.

"Some time through the course of that day General Clark came and we were introduced to him. We inquired of him the reason why we had been thus carried from our homes, and what were the charges against us. He said that he was not then able to determine, but would be in a short time; and with very little more conversation, withdrew.

"Sometime after he had withdrawn Colonel Price came in with two chains in his hands and a number of padlocks. The two

chains he fastened together. He had with him ten men, armed, who stood at the time of these operations with a thumb upon the cock of their guns.

"They first nailed down the windows, then came and ordered a man by the name of John Fulkinson, whom he had with him, to chain us together with chains and padlocks, being seven in number.

"After that he searched us, examining our pockets to see if we had any arms. Finding nothing but pocket knives, he took them and conveyed them off.

"Saturday, 10th. General Clark had spent his time since our arrival in Richmond in searching the laws to find authority for trying us by court martial. Had he not been a lawyer of eminence I should have supposed it no very difficult task to decide that quiet, peaceful, unoffending, and private citizens too, except as ministers of the gospel, were not amenable to military tribunal, in a country governed by civil laws. But be this as it may, General Clark wrote the Governor in part as follows:

"Detained General White and his field officers here a day or two, for the purpose of holding a court martial, if necessary. I this day made out charge against the prisoners and called on Judge King to try them as a committing court; and I am now busily engaged in procuring witnesses and submitting facts. There are no civil officers in Caldwell. I have to use the military to get witnesses from there, which I do without reserve. The most of the prisoners here I consider guilty of treason; and I believe will be convicted; and the only difficulty in law is, can they be tried in any county but Caldwell. If not, they cannot be there indicted, until a change of population. In the event this latter view is taken by the civil courts, I suggest the propriety of trying Jo Smith and those leaders taken by General Lucas, by a court martial for mutiny. This I am in favor of only as a dernier resort. I would have taken this course with Smith at any rate; but it being doubtful whether a court martial has jurisdiction or not in the present case—that is, whether these people are to be treated as in time of war, and the mutineers as having mutinied in time of war—and I would here ask you to forward to me the Attorney-General's opinion on this point. It will not do to allow these leaders to return to their reasonable work again, on account of their not being indicted in Caldwell. They have committed treason, murder, arson, burglary, robbery, larceny and perjury."

"Sunday, 11th. While in Richmond we were under the charge of Colonel Price from Chariton County, who suffered all manner of abuse to be heaped upon us. During this time my afflictions were great and our situation was truly painful.

"General Clark informed us that he would turn us over to the civil authorities for trial, and so

Joseph Smith, Jr.,  
Hyrum Smith,  
Sidney Rigdon,  
Parley P. Pratt,  
Lyman Wight,  
Amasa Lyman,  
George W. Robinson,  
Caleb Baldwin,  
Alanson Ripley,  
Washington Voorhees,  
Sidney Turner,  
John Buchanan,  
Jacob Gates,  
Chandler Holbrook,  
George W. Harris,  
Jesse D. Hunter,  
Andrew Whitlock,  
Martin C. Allred,  
William Allred,  
George D. Grant,  
Darwin Chase,  
Elijah Newman,  
Alvin G. Tippets,  
Zedekiah Owens,  
Isaac Morley,  
Thomas Beck,  
Moses, Clawson,

John T. Tanner,  
Daniel Shearer  
Alexander McRae,  
Elisha Edwards,  
John S. Higbee,  
Ebenezer Page  
Benjamin Covey,  
Ebenezer Robinson,  
Luman Gibbs,  
Joseph W. Younger,  
Henry Zabracki,  
Allen J. Stout,  
Sheffield Daniels,  
Silas Maynard  
Anthony Head,  
Benjamin Jones,  
Daniel Carn,  
John T. Earl,  
Norman Shearer,  
James M. Henderson,  
David Pettegrew,  
Edward Partridge,  
Francis Higbee,  
David Frampton,  
George Kimball and  
Daniel S. Thomas.

were brought before Austin A. King, at Richmond, for trial, charged with the several crimes of high treason against the State, murder, burglary, arson, robbery and larceny.

"Monday, 12th. The first act of this court was to send out a body of armed men without a civil process, to obtain witnesses."

#### PERSONAL LETTER OF JOSEPH SMITH, JR., TO HIS WIFE.

At this time Joseph Smith, Jr., wrote his wife as follows:

"Richmond, Missouri, November 12, 1838.

My dear Emma:

We are prisoners in chains and under strong guard for Christ's sake, and for no other cause, although there have been things that were unbeknown to us and altogether beyond our control that might

seem to the mob to be a pretext for them to prosecute us; but on examination I think that the authorities will discover our innocence and set us free; but if this blessing cannot be obtained, I have this consolation, that I am an innocent man, let what will befall me. I received your letter, which I read over and over again; it was a sweet morsel to me. O God, grant that I may have the privilege of seeing once more my lovely family in the enjoyment of the sweets of liberty and social life; to press them to my bosom and kiss their lovely cheeks would fill my heart with unspeakable gratitude. Tell the children that I am alive, and trust I shall come and see them before long. Comfort their hearts all you can, and try to be comforted yourself all you can. There is no possible danger but what we shall be set at liberty if justice can be done, and that you know as well as myself. The trial will begin today for some of us. Lawyer Reese, and we expect Doniphan, will plead our cause. We could get no others in time for the trial. They are able men and will do well no doubt.

Brother Robinson is chained next to me, he has a true heart and a firm hand. Brother Wight is next, Brother Rigdon next, Hyrum next, Parley next, Amasa next, and thus we are bound together in chains, as well as cords of everlasting love. We are in good spirits and rejoice that we are counted worthy to be persecuted for Christ's sake. Tell little Joseph he must be a good boy. Father loves him with a perfect love; he is the eldest—must not hurt those that are smaller than he, but care for them. Tell little Frederick father loves him with all his heart; he is a lovely boy. Julia is a lovely little girl; I love her also. She is a promising child; tell her father wants her to remember him and be a good girl. Tell all the rest that I think of them and pray for them all. Bro. Babbit is waiting to carry our letters for us. Colonel Price is inspecting them, therefore my time is short. Little Alexander is on my mind continually. Oh, my affectionate Emma, I want you to remember that I am a true and faithful friend to you and the children forever. My heart is entwined around yours forever and ever. Oh, my God, bless you all. Amen. I am your husband, and am in bonds and tribulation, etc.,

JOSEPH SMITH, JR.

To Emma Smith:

P. S.—Write as often as you can, and if possible come and see me, and bring the children if possible. Act according to your own feelings and best judgment, and endeavor to be comforted if possible, and I trust that all will turn out for the best. Yours, J. S."

## CONTINUATION OF DIARY OF JOSEPH SMITH, JR.

"Tuesday, 13. We were placed at bar, Austin A. King presiding and Thomas C. Burch, State's Attorney. Witnesses were called and sworn at the point of the bayonet.

"Dr. Sampson Avard was the first brought before the court. He had previously told Mr. Oliver Olney that if he (Olney) wished to save himself, he must swear hard against the heads of the Church as they were the ones this court wanted to criminate; and if he could swear hard against them, they would not (that is, neither court nor mob) disturb him. 'I intend to do it' said he, 'in order to escape, for if I do not, they will take my life.'

"This introduction is sufficient to show the character of his testimony, and he swore just according to the statement he had made, doubtless thinking it a wise course to ingratiate himself into the good graces of the mob."

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TESTIMONY OF SAMPSON AVARD, INCLUDING THE CONSTITUTION  
OF THE DANITE SOCIETY AND SIDNEY RIGDON'S  
PAPER AGAINST THE DISSENTERS.

The record shows that the testimony taken was in the form of depositions. The following is the testimony of Sampson Avard, a witness produced, sworn and examined on behalf of the State, who deposeth, and saith:

"That about four months ago, a band called the Daughters of Zion, since called Danite band, was formed of the members of the Mormon Church, the original object of which was to drive from the county of Caldwell all those who dissented from the Mormon Church, in which they succeeded admirably, and to the satisfaction of those concerned.

"I consider Joseph Smith, Jun., as the prime mover and organizer of this Danite band.

"The officers of the band, according to their grades, were brought before him at a school house, together with Hiram Smith and Sidney Rigdon; the three composing the first presidency of the whole church. Joseph Smith, Jun., blessed them, and prophesied over them, declaring that they should be the means, in the hands of God, of bringing forth the Millennial Kingdom. It was stated by Joseph Smith, Jun., that it was necessary this band should

be bound together by a Covenant, that those who revealed the secrets of the society should be put to death.

"The covenant taken by all the Danite band was as follows, to wit: They declared, holding up their right hands, in the name of Jesus Christ, the son of God, 'I do solemnly obligate myself ever to conceal and never to reveal the secret purposes of this society, called the Daughters of Zion; should I ever do the same, I hold my life as the forfeiture.' The Prophet, Joseph Smith, Jun., together with his two counsellors, Hiram Smith and Sidney Rigdon, were considered as the supreme head of the Church, and the Danite band felt themselves as much bound to obey them, as to obey the Supreme God.

"Instruction was given to the Danite band by Joseph Smith, Jun., that if any of them should get into difficulty, the rest should help him out, and that they should stand by each other, right or wrong; and that this instruction was given at a public address delivered at a Danite meeting. As for Joseph Smith, Junior, and his two counsellors, the witness does not know that they ever took the Danite oath. He knows all the rest of the defendants to be Danites, except Sidney Tanner, Andrew Whitlock, Zedekiah Owens, Thomas Rich, John J. Tanner, Daniel S. Thomas, David Pettigrew, George Kemble, Anthony Head, Benjamin Jones and Norman Shearer. At the election last August a report came to Far West that some of the brethren in Daviess were killed. I called for twenty volunteers to accompany me to Daviess to see into the matter. I went, and about one hundred and twenty Mormons accompanied me to Adam-on-di-ahman, Mr. Joseph Smith, Jun., in company. When we arrived there I found the report exaggerated; none were killed. We visited Mr. Adam Black; about one hundred and fifty or two hundred of us armed. Joseph Smith, Jun., was commander, and if Black had not signed the paper he did, it was the common understanding and belief that he would have shared the fate of the dissenters. Sidney Rigdon and Lyman Wight were at Adam when we went to Black's, and advised the movement of the prisoners. I do not recollect that Parley P. Pratt, Caleb Baldwin, Washington Vories, Sidney Tanner, John Buchanan, Jacob Gates, Chandler Holbrook, Geo. W. Harris, Jesse D. Hunter, Andrew Whitlock, Martin C. Alfred, Wm. Alfred, George Grant, Elizah Newman, Oliver L. Tiffets, Zedekiah Owens, Isaac Morley, Thos. Rich, Moses Clawson, John J. Tanner, Daniel Shearer, Daniel S. Thomas, Elisha Edwards, John S. Higby, Ebenezer Page, Benjamin Covey, Luman Gibbs, James M. Henderson, David Pettigrew, Edward Partridge, David Frampton, George Kemble, Jos. W. Younger, Henry Zabrisky, Allen J. Stout, Sheffield Daniels,

Silas Manard, Anthony Head, Benjamin Jones, Daniel Carn, John T. Eare and Norman Shearer, were with us on the Expedition to Daviess County.

"As regards the affair at DeWitt, I know little personally; but I heard Mr. Sidney Rigdon say they had gone down to DeWitt, where it was said a mob had collected to wage war upon the Mormons residing in Carroll County, and that Joseph Smith, Junior, with his friends, went down to DeWitt, to give aid and help to his brethren. The Company was armed, as I presume. Hiram Smith was one in the Company, and Geo. W. Robertson also. Amaza Lyman went to see what was going on. I heard the above named persons say they were in Henkle's Camp at DeWitt several days, except Amaza Lyman. I know not that he was at DeWitt. When the Mormons returned from DeWitt, it was rumored that a mob was collecting in Daviess. Joseph Smith, Jun., the Sunday before the late affair in Daviess, at a church meeting, gave notice that he wished the whole county collected on the next Monday at Far West, where he said (or the Sunday before, I don't recollect which,) that all who did not take up arms in defense of the Mormons of Daviess should be considered as tories, and should take their exit from the county. At the meeting on Monday, where persons met from all parts of Caldwell County, Joseph Smith, Jun., took the pulpit, and delivered an address, in which he said, that we had been an injured people, driven violently from Jackson County; that we had appealed to the governor, magistrates, judges, and even to the President of the United States, and that there had been no redress for us; and that now a mob was about to destroy the rights of our brethren in Daviess County; and that it was high time that we should take measures to defend our rights. In this address he related an anecdote about a captain who applied to a Dutchman to purchase potatoes, who refused to sell. The Captain charged his company several different times, not to touch the Dutchman's potatoes. In the morning the Dutchman had not a potato left in his patch. This was in reference to our touching no property on our expedition to Daviess that did not belong to us; but he told us that the children of God did not go to war at their own expense.

"A vote was taken whether the brethren should then embody and go out to Daviess to attack the mob. This question was put by the Prophet, Joe Smith, and passed unanimously, with a few exceptions.

"Captains Patton and Branson were appointed Commanders of the Mormons, by Joseph Smith, Jun., to go to Daviess. He frequently called these men Generals. I once had a Command as an officer, but he, Joseph Smith, Jun., removed me from it, and I

asked him the reason, and he assigned that he had another office for me. Afterwards Mr. Rigdon told me I was to fill the office of surgeon, to attend to the sick and wounded. After we arrived at Diahmond, in Daviess, a council was held at night, composed of Joseph Smith, Jun., Geo. W. Robertson, Hiram Smith, Captains Patton and Branson, Lyman Wight, Present R. Cahoon, P. P. Pratt and myself, and perhaps Mr. Kemble. President Rigdon was not present; a correspondence was kept up between him and Joseph Smith, Jun. I heard Rigdon read one of the letters from Smith, which, as I remember, was about as follows: That he knew, from prophecy and from the revelation of Jesus Christ, that the enemies of the kingdom were in their hands, and that they should succeed. Rigdon on reading the letter said it gave him great consolation to have such authority that the kingdom of God was rolling on.

"In the above-referred-to council, Mr. Smith spoke of the grievances we had suffered in Jackson, Clay, Kirtland and other places; declared that, in future, we must stand up for our rights as citizens of the United States, and as Saints of the Most High God; and that it was the will of God we should do so, and that we should do so; and that we should be free and independent; and that, as the State of Missouri and the United States would not protect us, it was time that we should rise, as the Saints of the Most High God, and protect ourselves, and take the kingdom; and Lyman Wight observed that before the winter was over, he thought we would be in St. Louis and take it.

"Smith charged them that they should be united in supporting each other. Smith said, on some occasion, that one should chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight; that he considered the United States rotten. He compared the Mormon Church to the little stone spoken of by the prophet Daniel, and that the dissenters, first, was part of the image, and the State next, that should be destroyed by this little stone. The council was called on to vote the above measures, and were unanimous in favor of them.

"On the next day, Captain Patton, who was called by the Prophet, Captain Fearnought, took command of a body of armed men, about one hundred, and told them he had a job for them to do, and that the work of the Lord was rolling on, and that they must be united. He then led his troops to Gallatin, saying, he was going to attack the mob there. He made a rush into Gallatin, dispersed the few men there, and took the goods out of Stollings store, and took them to Diahmond; and I afterwards saw the store-house on fire, when we returned to Diahmond, the goods were deposited in the Lord's store house, under the care of Bishop

Vincent Knight. Orders were given that all the goods should be put in the Lord's store house. Joseph Smith, Junior, was at Diahmond, giving directions about things in general connected with the war. When Patton returned from Gallatin, to Adam-on-di-Ahmend, the goods were divided, or apportioned out amongst those engaged; and these affairs were conducted under the superintendency of the First Presidency. A part of the goods was brought to Far West, under the care of Captain Fearnaught. On their arrival, President Rigdon and others shouted the hosannas to the victory. On the day Patton went to Gallatin, Col. Wight went to Mill Port, as I understood. I saw a great many cattle, beds, furniture, etc., brought into our camps. After we returned to Far West, the troops were constantly kept in motion, and there was a council held at President Rigdon's house to determine who should be chiefs. It was determined that Col. Wight should be commander-in-chief at Diahmond; Branson, Captain of the flying horse of Daviess; Col. Henckle should be commander-in-chief of the Far West troops; Captain Patton, of the Cavalry of the flying horse; and that the Prophet, Joseph Smith, Jun., should be commander-in-chief of the whole kingdom. The council was composed of Joseph Smith, Jun., Captain Fearnaught, alias Patton, Henckle, and Col. Wight and President Rigdon.

"The object of that council was, in furtherance of the scheme proposed in Council in Daviess county, referred to above.

"After the Council, Fearnaught disputed as to the Chief Command of the Far West troops, and had a small altercation about it with Henckle; but Smith proposed that they agree to disagree, and go on for the good of the kingdom. The troops were kept together until the militia came out lately. There were about from five to eight hundred men, as I suppose, under arms. It was about the time the militia came out lately to Far West under Gen. Lucas, that our Prophet assembled the troops together at Far West, into a hollow square and addressed them; and stated to them that the kingdom of God should be set up, and should never fall, and for every one that we lacked in number in amount of those who came against us, the Lord would send angels who would fight for us, and we should be victorious. After the militia had been near Far West a while, in an address Smith said that those troops were militia, and that we were militia too, and both sides clever fellows; and that he advised them to know nothing of what had passed; to say nothing, and to keep dark; that he, Smith, had forgotten more than he then knew. After it was ascertained that the militia had arrived, intelligence was immediately sent to Diahmond, to Col. Wight. Next morning, Col. Wight arrived in Far West with

about one hundred mounted and armed men. The troops were constantly kept prepared, and in a situation to repel attack. The evening the militia arrived near Far West, it was the general understanding in the Mormon camp that they were militia legally called out; and, indeed, previous to the arrival of the militia, it was ascertained that there were militia on their way to Far West. Some months ago, I received orders to destroy the papers concerning the Danite Society, which order was issued by the First Presidency, and which paper, being the constitution for the Government of the Danite Society, was in my custody, but which I did not destroy; it is now in Gen. Clark's possession. I gave the paper up to Gen. Clark after I was taken prisoner. I found it in my house, where I had previously deposited it, and I believe it had never been in any person's possession after I first received it. This paper was taken into President Rigdon's house, and read to the first presidency, Hiram Smith being absent, and was unanimously adopted by them as their rule and guide in future. After it was thus adopted, I was instructed by the council to destroy it, as if it should be discovered, it would be considered treasonable. This constitution after it was approved of by the First Presidency, was read article by article, to the Danite band, and unanimously adopted by them. This paper was drawn up about the time that the Danite band was formed. Since the drawing of the paper against the dissenters, it was, that this constitution of the Danite band was drafted; but I have no minutes of the time, as we were directed not to keep written minutes; which constitution above referred to, is as follows:

"Whereas, in all bodies, laws are necessary for the permanency, safety and well being of the society. We, the members of the Society of the Daughters of Zion, do agree to regulate themselves under such laws as, in righteousness, shall be deemed necessary for the preservation of our holy religion and of our most sacred rights and the rights of our wives and children.

"But to be explicit on the subject, it is especially, our object to support and defend the rights conferred on us by our venerable sires, who purchased them with the pledges of their lives, their fortunes and sacred honors; and now, to prove ourselves worthy of liberty conferred on us by them in the providence of God, we do agree to be governed by such laws as shall perpetuate these high privileges, of which we know ourselves to be the rightful possessors, and of which privileges, wicked and designing men have tried to deprive us by all manner of evil, and that purely in consequence of the tenacity we have manifested in the discharge of our duty towards our God, who had given us those rights and privi-

leges, and a right in common with others, to dwell on this land. But we, not having the privileges of others allowed unto us, have determined, like unto our fathers, to resist tyranny—whether it be in kings or in people, it is all alike unto us, our rights we must have, and our rights we shall have, in the name of Israel's God.

'Article 1. All power belongs, originally and legitimately, to the people, and they have a right to dispose of it as they shall deem fit. But, as it is inconvenient and impossible to convene the people in all cases, the legislative powers have been given by them, from time to time, into the hands of a representation, composed of delegates from the people themselves. This is, and has been the law, both in civil and religious bodies, and is the true principal.

'Article 2. The Executive power shall be vested in the President of the whole church, and his counsellors.

'Article 3. The legislative powers shall reside in the President and his counsellors, together, and with the generals and colonels of the society. By them, all laws shall be made, regulating the society.

'Article 4. All officers shall be, during life and good behavior, or to be regulated by the law of God.

'Article 5. The society reserves the power of electing all its officers, with the exception of the aids and clerks, which the officers may need, in their various stations. The nominations to go from the Presidency to his second, and from the second, to the third in rank, and so down through all the various grades; each branch, or department, retains the power of electing its own particular officers.

'Article 6. Punishments shall be administered to the guilty, in accordance to the offense, and no member shall be punished without law, or by any others than those appointed by law for that purpose. The legislature shall have power to make such laws, regulating punishments, as in their judgments shall be wisdom and righteousness.

'Article 7. There shall be a secretary, whose business it shall be to keep all the legislative records of the society, and also to keep a register of the name of every member of the society; also, the rank of the officers. He shall also communicate the laws to the generals, as directed by laws made for the regulation of such business by the legislature.

'Article 8. All officers shall be subject to the commands of the Captain-General, given through the Secretary of War; and so, all officers shall be subject to their superiors in rank, according to laws made for that purpose

"In connection with the grand scheme of the Prophet, his preachers and apostles were instructed to preach, and to instruct their followers (who are estimated in Europe and America, at about 40,000) that it was their duty to come up to the stake, called Far West, and to possess the kingdom; that it was the will of God that they should do so, and that the Lord would give them power to possess the kingdom. There was another writing, drawn up in June last, which had for its object to get rid of the dissenters, and which had the desired effect. Since that time, and since the introduction of this scheme of the Prophet, made known in the above constitution. I have heard the Prophet say that it was a fortunate thing that we got rid of the dissenters, as they would have endangered the rolling on of the kingdom of God, as introduced, and to be carried into effect, by the Danite band; that they (the dissenters) were great obstacles in the way; and that, unless they were removed, the aforesaid kingdom of God could not roll on. This paper against the dissenters was drafted by Sidney Rigdon, and is as follows:

'Far West, June —, 1838.

To Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer, John Whitmer, William W. Phelps and Lyman E. Johnson, greeting:

'Whereas, the citizens of Caldwell county have borne with the abuse received from you, at different times and on different occasions, until it is no longer to be endured, neither will they endure it any longer, having exhausted all the patience they have, and conceive that to bear any longer is a vice instead of a virtue; we have borne long and suffered incredibly, but we will neither bear nor suffer any longer and the decree has gone forth, from our hearts, and shall not return to us void; neither think, gentlemen, that in so saying we are trifling with either you or ourselves, for we are not. There are no threats from you—no fear of losing our lives by you, or by anything you can say or do, will restrain us; for out of the country you shall go, and no power shall save you; and you shall have three days, after you receive this, our communication to you, including twenty-four hours in each day, for you to depart, with your families, peaceably; which you may do, undisturbed by any person; but, in that time, if you do not depart, we will use the means in our power to cause you to depart; for go you shall; we will have no more promises to reform, as you have already done, and in every instance violated your promise, and regarded not the covenant which you had made, but put both it and us at defiance. We have solemnly warned you, and that in the most determined manner, that if you did not cease that course of wanton abuse of the citizens of this county, that vengeance would overtake you,

sooner or later, and that when it did come, it would be as furious as the mountain torrent, and as terrible as the beating tempest—but you have affected to despise our warnings, and passed them off with a sneer, or a grin, or a threat, and pursued your former course and vengeance sleeps not, neither does it slumber, and unless you heed us this time, and attend to our request, it will overtake you at an hour when you do not expect, and at a day when you do not look for it; and for you there shall be no escape for there is but one decree for you, which is, depart, depart, or else a more fatal calamity shall befall you.

After Oliver Cowdery had been taken by a States warrant for stealing, and the stolen property found concealed in the house of William W. Phelps, in which nefarious transaction John Whitmer had also participation, Oliver Cowdery stole the property, conveyed it to John Whitmer, and John Whitmer to William W. Phelps, and there the officers of the law found it. While in the hands of the officer, and under an arrest for this vile transaction, and, if possible, to hide your shame from the world, like criminals, which indeed you were, you appealed to our beloved President, Joseph Smith, Jun., and Sidney Rigdon; men whose characters you had endeavored to destroy by every artifice you could invent, not even the basest lying excepted; and did you find them revengeful? No, but notwithstanding all your scandalous attacks, still such was the nobleness of their character, that even vile enemies could not appeal to them in vain. They enlisted, as you well know, their influence to save you from your just fate, and they, by their influence, delivered you out of the hand of the officer. While you were pleading with them you promised reformation—you bound yourselves by the most solemn promises, that you would never be employed again, in abusing any of the citizens of Caldwell; and by such condescensions did you attempt to escape the workhouse. But now, for the sequel. Did you practice the promised reformation? You know you did not! but, by secret efforts continued to practice your iniquity, and secretly to injure their characters, notwithstanding their kindness to you. Are such things to be borne? You, yourselves, would answer that they are insufferable, if you were to answer according to the feelings of your own hearts. As we design this paper to be published to the world, we will give an epitome of your scandalous conduct and treachery for the last two years. We wish to remind you that Oliver Cowdery and David Whitmer were among the principal of those who were the means of gathering us to this place, by their testimony which they gave concerning the plates of the Book of Mormon—that they were shown to them by an angel, which testimony we believe now, as much as before you

had so scandalously disgraced it, you commenced your wickedness by heading a party to disturb the worship of the saints in the first day of the week, and made the House of the Lord, in Kirtland, to be a scene of abuse and slander, to destroy the reputation of those whom the church had appointed to be their teachers, and for no other cause, only that you were not the persons. The Saints in Kirtland, having elected Oliver Cowdery to be a justice of the peace, he used the power of his office to take their most sacred rights from them, and that contrary to law. He supported a parcel of black-legs, in disturbing the worship of the Saints, and when the men whom the Church had chosen to preside over their meetings, endeavored to put the house to order, he helped—and by the authority of his Justices office too—those wretches to continue their confusion, and threatened the church with a prosecution for trying to put them out of the house, and issued writs against the Saints for endeavoring to sustain their rights, and bound them, under heavy bonds, to appear before his honor, and required bonds which were both inhuman and unlawful; and one of those was the venerable father who had been appointed by the church to preside—a man of upwards of seventy years of age, and notorious for his peaceable habits. Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer and Lyman E. Johnson, united with a gang of counterfeiters, thieves, liars and black-legs of the deepest dye, to deceive, cheat and defraud the Saints of their property, by every act and stratagem which wickedness could invent; using the influence of the vilest persecutors, to bring vexatious law suits, villianous prosecutions, and even stealing not excepted. In the midst of this career, for fear that the Saints would seek redress at their hands, they breathed out threatenings of mobs, and actually made attempts with their gang to bring mobs upon them. Oliver Cowdery and his gang, such of them as belonged to the church, were called to an account by the church for their iniquity. They confessed repentance, and were again restored to the church. But the very first opportunity, they were again practicing their former course. While this wickedness was going on in Kirtland, Cowdery and his company were writing letters to Far West, in order to destroy the character of every person that they thought were standing in their way; and John Whitmer and William W. Phelps were assisting to prepare the way to throw confusion among the Saints of Far West. During the full career of Oliver Cowdery and David Whitmer's bogus money business, information got abroad into the world that they were engaged in it, and several gentlemen were preparing to commence a prosecution against Cowdery. He finding it out, took with him, Lyman E. Johnson and fled to Far West with their families, Cowdery

stealing a property, and bringing it with him, which has, within a few weeks past, been obtained by the owner, by means of a search warrant, and he was saved from the penitentiary by the influence of two influential men of the place. He also brought notes with him, upon which he had received pay, and had promised to destroy them, and made an attempt to sell them to Mr. Arthur of Clay county. And Lyman E. Johnson, on his arrival reported that he had a note of one thousand dollars against a principal man in this church, when it is a fact that it was a palpable falsehood, and he had no such thing, and he did it for the purpose of injuring his character. Shortly after Cowdery and Johnson left Kirtland for Far West, they were followed by David Whitmer, on whose arrival a general system of slander and abuse was commenced by you all, for the purpose of destroying the characters of certain individuals, whose influence, and strict regard for righteousness, you dreaded, and not only yourselves, but your wives and children, led by yourselves, were busily engaged in it. Neither were you content with slandering and vilifying here, but you kept up continual correspondence with your gang of marauders in Kirtland, encouraging them to go on with their iniquity, which they did to perfection, but swearing false, to injure the characters and property of innocent men; stealing, cheating, lying, instituting vexatious lawsuits, selling bogus money, and also stones and sand for bogus; in which nefarious business, Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer, and Lyman E. Johnson were engaged while you were there. Since you arrived here, you have commenced a general system of the same kind of conduct in this place. You set up a nasty, dirty, pettifoggers office, pretending to be judges of the law; when it is a notorious fact that you are profoundly ignorant of it, and of every other thing which is calculated to do mankind good; or if you know it, you take good care never to practice it; and in order to bring yourselves into notice, you began to interfere with all the business of the place, trying to destroy the character of our merchants, and bring their creditors upon them and break them up. In addition to this, you stirred up men of a weak mind to prosecute one another, for the vile purpose of getting a fee for a pettifogger from them.

"You have also been threatening, continually, to enter into a general system of prosecuting; determined, as you said, to pick a flaw in the titles of those who have bought city lots and built upon them, not that you can do anything but cause vexatious law suits. And amongst the most monstrous of all your abominations, we have evidence, which when called upon we can produce, that letters sent to the postoffice, in this place, have been opened, read and destroyed, and the persons to whom they were sent never ob-

tained them; thus ruining the business of the place. We have evidence of a very strong character, that you are at this very time engaged with a gang of counterfeiters and coiners, and black-legs, as some of those characters have lately visited our city from Kirtland, and told what they had come for, and we know assuredly, that if we suffer you to continue, we may expect, and that speedily, to find a general system of stealing, counterfeiting, cheating and burning of property, as in Kirtland, for so are your associates carrying on there at this time, and that encouraged by you, by means of the letters you send continually to them; and to crown the whole, you have had the audacity to threaten us, that if we offered to disturb you, you would get up a mob from Clay and Ray counties. For this insult, if nothing else, and your threatening to shoot us, if we offered to molest you, we will put you from the county of Caldwell—so help us God!

(The above was signed by some eighty-four Mormons.)

"About the time the dissenters fled, President Rigdon preached a sermon from the text: 'Ye are the salt of the earth; but if the salt have lost its savor, wherewithal shall it be salted, etc.' commonly called 'The Salt Sermon,' in which the dissenters were called the salt which had lost its savor, and that they should be trampled upon and driven out by the Saints, which was well understood by the Danites as a part of their duty to do. When General Lucas's men marched up to Far West, Smith told me (as I understood him) that he had said to one of the militia captains not to come any farther, as he might get into danger, Smith, after erecting his bulwark, asked me if I did not think him pretty much of a general? I answered in the affirmative. We were advised, all the time, to fight valiantly, and that the angels of the Lord would appear in our defense, and fight our battles.

"In reference to Bogart's battle, I know but little personally. As to the start of troops to fight Bogart, I was called upon to go along with the company, which was commanded by Patton as surgeon; this was about midnight, but as I thought a little sleep would do me more good than fighting, I remained at home. On the morning of the fight, about six o'clock, I was called upon by a Mr. Emmet, who informed me that Captain Fearnought was wounded mortally, I went to Patton, about three miles, as I understood, from the battle ground, where I found Joseph Smith, Jun., present, laying hands on the wounded, and blessing them, to heal them. A Mr. O. Bannion was also there, mortally wounded. I heard the following of the prisoners say he was in the fight, to wit, Norman Shearer.

"I never heard Hiram Smith make any inflammatory remarks, but I have looked on him as one composing the first presidency;

acting in concert with Joseph Smith, Jun.; approving by his presence, acts, and conversations, the unlawful schemes of the presidency. I never saw Edward Partridge and Isaac Morley, two of the defendants, take any active part in the above massacres testified to by me; and I have heard Joseph Smith, Junior, say he considered Partridge a coward, and backward, and ought to be forced out. I was continually in the society or company of the presidency, receiving instructions from them as to the teachings of the Danite band; and I continually informed them of my teachings; and they were well apprised of my course and teachings in the Danite society.

"The following of the defendants were in the last expedition to Daviess county:

Joseph Smith, Jun.,  
Hiram Smith,  
P. P. Pratt,  
Lyman Wight,  
George W. Robertson,  
Alison Ripley,  
Washington Vories,  
Jacob Gates,  
George Grant,  
Darwen Chase,  
Maurice Phelps,

Moses Clawson,  
Alexander McKay,  
John S. Higby,  
Ebenezer Page,  
James M. Henderson,  
Edward Partridge,  
Francis Higbey,  
Joseph W. Younger,  
Henry Sabriskey (doubtful),  
James H. Rawlins,  
James Newberry (doubtful).

And further this deponent saith not.

(Signed) SAMISON AVARD."

#### CONTINUATION OF DIARY OF JOSEPH SMITH, JR.

"The following witnesses were examined in behalf of the State, many of whom, if we may judge from their testimony, sworn upon the same principle as Avard, namely:

Wyatt Cravens,  
Captain Samuel Bogart,  
John Corroll,  
George Walton,  
James C. Owens,  
Abner Scovell,  
Reed Peck,  
Wilborn Splawn,  
John Raglin,  
Jeremiah Myers,  
Freebora H. Gardner,  
Elisha Camron,

Nehemiah Sale,  
Morris Phelps,  
Robert Snodgrass,  
George M. Hinkle,  
Nathaniel Carr,  
John Cleminson,  
James C. Owens, re-examined,  
Thomas M. Odle,  
Allen Rathburn,  
Andrew F. Job,  
Burr Riggs,  
Charles Bleakley,

James Cobb,  
Addison Price,  
William W. Phelps,  
James B. Turner,  
Joseph H. McGee,  
Porter Yale,  
Eyra Williams,  
John Taylor,  
Patrick Lynch,

Jesse Kelly,  
Samuel Kimball,  
John Whitmer,  
George W. Worthington,  
John Lockhart,  
Benjamin Slade,  
Addison Green,  
Timothy Lewis.

"We were called upon for our witnesses, and we gave the names of some forty or fifty. Captain Bogart was dispatched with a company of militia to procure them. Arrested all he could find, thrust them into prison, and we were not allowed to see them.

"We were again called upon most tauntingly for witnesses. We gave the names of some others, and they were also thrust into prison, so many as were to be found.

"In the meantime, Malinda Porter, Delia F. Pine, Nancy Rigdon, Jonathan W. Barlow, Thoret Parsons, Ezra Chipman and Arza Judd, Jr., volunteered and were sworn on the defense, but were prevented by threats from telling the truth as much as possible.

"We saw a man at the window by the name of Allen, and beckoned him to come in and had him sworn; but when he did not testify to please the court, several rushed upon him with their bayonets and he fled the place, and three men took after him with loaded guns, and he barely escaped with his life. It was of no use to get any more witnesses if we could have done it. Thus the mock investigation continued from day to day, till Saturday, when several of the brethren were discharged by Judge King, as follows:

"Defendants against whom nothing is proven, viz.:

Amasa Lyman,  
Andrew Whitlock,  
Jedediah Owens,  
John T. Tanner,  
Elisha Edwards,  
David Frampton,  
Allen J. Stout,  
Silas Maynard,  
John T. Earl,  
James Newberry,  
Chandler Holbrook,  
William Allred,

John Buchanan,  
Alvah L. Tippetts,  
Isaac Morley,  
Daniel S. Thomas,  
Benjamin Covey,  
Henry Zabriski,  
Sheffield Daniels,  
Anthony Head,  
Ebenezer Brown,  
Sylvester Hulet,  
Martin Allred.

"The above defendants were discharged by me, there being no evidence against them.

AUSTIN A. KING, Judge, etc."

November 24, 1838.

"Our church organization was converted by the testimony of the apostates into a temporal kingdom which was to fill the whole earth and subdue all other kingdoms.

"Much was inquired by the Judge (who by the by, was a Methodist) concerning the prophecy of Daniel, 'In the days of these kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom which shall break in pieces all other kingdoms, and stand forever,' etc.; 'and the kingdom and the greatness of the kingdom, under the whole heavens, shall be given to the saints of the Most High,' etc., just as though it was treason to believe the Bible.

"The remaining prisoners were all released, or admitted to bail, except:

Lyman Wight,

Hyrum Smith,

Sidney Rigdon and myself,

who were sent to Liberty, Clay county, to jail, to stand our trial for treason and murder—the treason for having whipped the mob out of Daviess county and taking their cannon from them; and the murder for the man killed in the Bogart battle; also

Parley P. Pratt,

Laman Gibbs,

Norman Shearer,

who were put into Richmond jail to stand their trial for the same crimes.

Caleb Baldwin,

Alexander McRae,

(Joseph Smith, Jr.),

Morris Phelps,

Darwin Chase,

"During the investigation, we were mostly confined in chains and received much abuse.

"The matter of driving away witnesses, or casting them into prison, or chasing them out of the country, was carried to such a length that our lawyers, General Doniphan and Amos Reese told us not to bring our witnesses there at all; for if we did there would not be one of them left for final trial; for no sooner would Bogart and his men know who they were than they would put them out of the country.

"As to making any impression on King, if a cohort of angels were to come down and declare we were clear, Doniphan said it would be all the same; for he (King) had determined from the beginning to cast us into prison.

"We never got the privilege of introducing our witnesses at all; if we had, we could have disproved all they swore." (*Millennial Star*, Vol. 16, pp. 539, 556, 558, 565).

SHELBY'S EXPEDITION TO MEXICO; AN  
UNWRITTEN LEAF OF THE WAR.\*

BY JOHN N. EDWARDS.

AUTHOR OF "SHELBY AND HIS MEN," ETC.

FIRST ARTICLE. (REPRINT.)

In the military annals of Missouri two expeditions are unique: Doniphan's Expedition to Mexico in the '40's and Shelby's Expedition to Mexico in the '60's. Both consisted of the same people, Missourians; both were directed against the same people, Mexicans. The leaders of both expeditions were Kentuckians by nativity and Missourians by adoption. Thousands of miles of desert wastes and mountain fastnesses were traversed by each, fighting grimly against half savage foe and nature's weapons, starvation and sickness. Invaders they were but never exploiters. Feared rather than hated were these American men, for none denied them courage, honesty, and straight-dealing. Fighters every one, no odds appalled them on noon-day field or in midnight ambushade. Fortunate were both expeditions in their annalists. John F. Hughes was the historian of Doniphan's force, John N. Edwards was the recorder of the deeds of Shelby's men. Edwards was a journalist *par excellence*, no Missouri writer has surpassed him in vivid descriptions. His account of *Shelby's Expedition to Mexico* has been long out of print. It is regarded by many as his best work. It is reported to have been written about 1866 while Major Edwards was with General Shelby in Mexico. Both author and subject, as well as the rarity and value of the book, have induced us to reproduce this work.—The Editor.

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## SHELBY'S EXPEDITION TO MEXICO.

## AN UNWRITTEN LEAF OF THE WAR.

## CHAPTER I.

They rode a troop of bearded men,  
Rode two and two out from the town,  
And some were blonde and some were brown,  
And all as brave as Sioux; but when  
From San Bennetto south the line  
That bound them to the haunts of men  
Was passed, and peace stood mute behind  
And streamed a banner to the wind  
The world knew not, there was a sign  
Of awe, of silence, rear and van.  
Men thought who never thought before;  
I heard the clang and clash of steel,  
From sword at hand or spur at heel,  
And iron feet, but nothing more.  
Some thought of Texas, some of Maine,  
But more of rugged Tennessee—  
Of scenes in Southern vales of wine,  
And scenes in Northern hills of pine,  
As scenes they might not meet again;  
And one of Avon thought, and one  
Thought of an isle beneath the sun,  
And one of Rowley, on the Rhine,  
And one turned sadly to the Spree.

JOAQUIN MILLER.

What follows may read like a romance, it was the saddest reality this life could offer to many a poor fellow who now sleeps in a foreign and forgotten grave somewhere in the tropics—somewhere between the waters of the Rio Grande and the Pacific Ocean.

The American has ever been a wayward and a truant race. There are passions which seem to belong to them by some strange fatality of birth or blood. In every port, under all flags, upon every island, shipwrecked and stranded upon the barren or golden shores of adventure, Americans can be found, taking fate as it comes—a devil-may-care, reckless,

good-natured, thrifty and yet thriftless race, loving nothing so well as their country except an enterprise full of wonder and peril. Board a merchant vessel in mid-ocean, and there is an American at the wheel. Steer clear of a lean, lank, rankish looking craft beating up from the windward towards Yucatan, and overboard as a greeting comes the full roll of an Anglo-Saxon voice, half-familiar and half-piratical. The angular features peer out from under *sombreros*, bronzed and brown though they may be, telling of faces seen somewhere about the cities—eager, questioning faces, a little sad at times, yet always stern enough for broil or battle. They cruise in the foreign rivers and rob on the foreign shores. Whatever is uppermost finds ready hands. No guerrillas are more daring than American guerrillas; the Church has no more remorseless despoilers; the women no more ardent and faithless lovers; the *haciendas* no more sturdy defenders; the wine cup no more devoted proselytes; the stranger armies no more heroic soldiers; and the stormy waves of restless emigration no more sinister waifs, tossed hither and thither, swearing in all tongues—rude, boisterous, dangerous in drink, ugly at cards, learning revolver-craft quickest and surest, and dying as they love to die, game to the last.

Of such a race came all who had preceded the one thousand Confederates led by Shelby into Mexico. He found many of them there. Some he hung and some he recruited, the last possibly not the best.

The war in the Trans-Mississippi Department had been a holiday parade for some; a ceaseless battle and raid for others. Shelby's division of Missourians was the flower of this army. He had formed and fashioned it upon an ideal of his own. He had a maxim, borrowed from Napoleon without knowing it, which was: "Young men for war." Hence all that long list of boy heroes who died before maturity from Pocahontas, Arkansas, to Newtonia, Missouri—died in that last march of 1864—the stupidest, wildest, wantonest, wickedest march ever made by a General who had a voice like a lion and a spring like a guinea pig. Shelby did the

fighting, or, rather, what he could of it. After Westport, eight hundred of these Missourians were buried in a night. The sun that set at Mine Creek set as well upon a torn and decimated division, bleeding at every step, but resolute and undaunted. That night the dead were not buried.

Newtonia came after—the last battle west of the Mississippi river. It was a prairie fight, stern, unforgiving, bloody beyond all comparison for the stakes at issue, fought far into the night, and won by him who had won so many before that he had forgotten to count them. Gen. Blunt is rich, alive, and a brave man and a happy man over in Kansas. He will bear testimony again, as he has often done before, that Shelby's fighting at Newtonia surpassed any he had ever seen. Blunt was a grim fighter himself, be it remembered, surpassed by none who ever held the border for the Union.

The retreat southward from Newtonia was a famine. The flour first gave out, then the meal, then the meat, then the medicines. The recruits suffered more in spirit than in flesh, and fell out by the wayside to die. The old soldiers cheered them all they could and tightened their own sabre belts. Hunger was part of *their* rations. The third day beyond the Arkansas river, hunger found an ally—small-pox. In cities and among civilized beings, this is fearful. Among soldiers, and, therefore, machines, it is but another name for death. They faced it as they would a line of battle, waiting for the word. That came in this wise: Shelby took every wagon he could lay his hands upon, took every blanket the dead men left, and improvised a hospital. While life lasted in him, a soldier was never abandoned. There was no shrinking; each detachment in detail mounted guard over the terrible *cortege*—protected it, camped with it, waited upon it, took its chances as it took its rest. Discipline and humanity fraternized. The weak hands on one were intertwined with the bronze hands of the other. Even amid the pestilence there was poetry.

The gaps made in the ranks were ghastly. Many whom the bullets had scarred and spared were buried far from sol-

dierly bivouacs or battle-fields. War has these species of attacks, all the more overwhelming because of their inglorious tactics. Fever cannot be fought, nor that hideous leprosy which kills after it has defaced.

One day the end came, after much suffering, and heroism and devotion. A picture like this, however, is only painted that one may understand the superb organization of that division which was soon to be a tradition, a memory, a grim war spirit, a thing of gray and glory forevermore.

After the ill-starred expedition made to Missouri in 1864, the trans-Mississippi army went to sleep. It numbered about fifty-thousand soldiers, rank and file, and had French muskets, French cannon, French medicines, French ammunition, and French gold. Matamoras, Mexico, was a port the Government could not or did not blockade, and from one side of the river there came to it all manner of supplies, and from the other side all kinds and grades of cotton. This dethroned king had transferred its empire from the Carolinas to the Gulf, from the Tombigbee to the Rio Grande. It was a fugitive king, however, with a broken sceptre and a meretricious crown. Afterwards it was guillotined.

Gen. E. Kirby Smith was the Commander-in-Chief of this Department, who had under him as lieutenants, Generals John B. Magruder and Simon B. Buckner. Smith was a soldier turned exhorter. It is not known that he preached; he prayed, however, and his prayers, like the prayers of the wicked, availed nothing. Other generals in other parts of the army prayed, too, notably Stonewall Jackson, but between the two there was this difference: The first trusted to his prayers alone; the last to his prayers and his battalions. Faith is a fine thing in the parlor, but it never yet put grape-shot in an empty caisson, and pontoon bridges over a full-fed river.

As I have said, while the last act in the terrible drama was being performed east of the Mississippi river, all west of the Mississippi was asleep. Lee's surrender at Appomattox Court House awoke them. Months, however, before the

last march Price had made into Missouri, Shelby had an interview with Smith. They talked of many things, but chiefly of the war. Said Smith:

"What would you do in this emergency, Shelby?"

"I would," was the quiet reply, "march every single soldier of my command into Missouri—infantry, artillery, cavalry, all; I would fight there and stay there. Do not deceive yourself. Lee is overpowered; Johnson is giving up county after county, full of our corn and wheat fields; Atlanta is in danger, and Atlanta furnishes the powder; the end approaches; a supreme effort is necessary; the eyes of the East are upon the West, and with fifty thousand soldiers such as yours you can seize St. Louis, hold it, fortify it, and cross over into Illinois. It would be a diversion, expanding into a campaign—a blow that had destiny in it."

Smith listened, smiled, felt a momentary enthusiasm, ended the interview, and, later, sent eight thousand cavalry under a leader who marched twelve miles a day and had a wagon train as long as the tail of Plantamour's comet.

With the news of Lee's surrender there came a great paralysis. What had before been only indifference was now death. The army was scattered throughout Texas, Arkansas and Louisiana, but in the presence of such a calamity it concentrated as if by intuition. Men have this feeling in common with animals, that imminent danger brings the first into masses, the last into herds. Buffalo fight in a circle; soldiers form square. Smith came up from Shreveport, Louisiana, to Marshall, Texas. Shelby went from Fulton, Arkansas, to the same place. Hither came also other Generals of note, such as Hawthorne, Buckner, Preston and Walker. Magruder tarried at Galveston, watching with quiet eyes a Federal fleet beating in from the Gulf. In addition to this fleet there were also transports blue with uniforms and black with soldiers. A wave of negro troops was about to inundate the department.

Some little re-action had begun to be manifested since the news of Appomattox. The soldiers, breaking away from

the iron bands of a rigid discipline, had held meetings pleading against surrender. They knew Jefferson Davis was a fugitive, westward bound, and they knew Texas was filled to overflowing with all kinds of supplies and war munitions. In their simple hero faith they believed that the struggle could still be maintained. Thomas C. Reynolds was Governor of Missouri, and a truer and braver one never followed the funeral of a dead nation his commonwealth had revered and respected.

This Marshall Conference had a two-fold object: First, to ascertain the imminence of the danger, and, second, to provide against it. Strange things were done there. The old heads came to the young one; the infantry yielded its precedence to the cavalry; the Major-General asked advice of the Brigadier. There was no rank beyond that of daring and genius. A meeting was held, at which all were present except Gen. Smith. The night was a Southern one, full of balm, starlight and flower-odor. The bronzed men were gathered quietly and sat awhile, as Indians do who wish to smoke and go upon war-path. The most chivalrous scalp-lock that night was worn by Buckner. He seemed a real Red Jack in his war-paint and feathers. Alas! why was his tomahawk dug up at all? Before the ashes were cold about the embers of the council-fire, *it was buried.*

Shelby was called on to speak first, and if his speech astonished his auditors, they made no sign:

"The army has no confidence in Gen. Smith," he said, slowly and deliberately, "and for the movements proposed there must be chosen a leader whom they adore. We should concentrate everything upon the Brazos river. We must fight more and make fewer speeches. Fugitives from Lee and Johnson will join us by thousands; Mr. Davis is on his way here; he alone has the right to treat of surrender; our intercourse with the French is perfect, and fifty thousand men with arms in their hands have overthrown, ere now, a dynasty, and established a kingdom. Every step to the Rio Grande must be fought over, and when the last blow has been struck

that can be struck, we will march into Mexico and reinstate Juarez or espouse Maximilian. General Preston should go at once to Marshal Bazaine and learn from him whether it is peace or war. Surrender is a word neither myself nor my division understand."

This bold speech had its effect.

"Who will lead us?" The listeners demanded.

"Who else but Buckner," answered Shelby. "He has rank, reputation, the confidence of the army, ambition, is a soldier of fortune, and will take his chances like the rest of us. Which one of us can read the future and tell the kind of an empire our swords may carve out?"

Buckner assented to the plan, so did Hawthorne, Walker, Preston and Reynolds. The compact was sealed with soldierly alacrity, each General answering for his command. But who was to inform General Smith of this sudden resolution—this semi-mutiny in the very whirl of the vortex?

Again it was Shelby, the daring and impetuous.

"Since there is some sorrow about this thing, gentlemen," he said, "and since men who mean business must have boldness, I will ask the honor of presenting this ultimatum to General Smith. It is some good leagues to the Brazos, and we must needs make haste. I shall march tomorrow to the nearest enemy and attack him. Have no fear. If I do not overthrow him I will keep him long enough at bay to give time for the movement southward."

Immediately after the separation, Gen. Shelby called upon Gen. Smith. There were scant words between them.

"The army has lost confidence in you, Gen. Smith."

"I know it."

"They do not wish to surrender."

"Nor do I. What would the army have?"

"Your withdrawal as its direct commander, the appointment of Gen. Buckner as its chief, its concentration upon the Brazos river, and war to the knife, Gen. Smith."

The astonished man rested his head upon his hands in mute surprise. A shadow of pain passed rapidly over his

face, and he gazed out through the night as one who was seeking a star or beacon for a guidance. Then he arose as if in pain and came some steps nearer the young conspirator, whose cold, calm eyes had never wavered through it all.

"What do you advise, Gen. Shelby?"

"Instant acquiescence."

The order was written, the command of the army was given to Buckner, Gen. Smith returned to Shreveport, each officer galloped off to his troops, and the first act in the revolution had been finished. The next was played before a different audience and in another theatre.

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## CHAPTER II.

Gen. Simon Bolivar Buckner was a soldier handsome enough to have been Murat. His uniform was resplendent. Silver stars glittered upon his coat, his gold lace shone as if it had been washed by the dew and wiped with the sunshine, his sword was equaled only in brightness by the brightness of its scabbard, and when upon the streets women turned to look at him, saying, "That is a hero with a form like a war-god." Gen. Buckner also wrote poetry. Some of his sonnets were set to music in scanty Confederate fashion, and when the red June roses were all ablow, and the night at peace with bloom and blossom, they would float out from open casements as the songs of minstrel or troubadour. Sir Philip Sidney was also a poet who saved the English army at Gravelines, and though mortally wounded and dying of thirst, he bade his esquire give to a suffering comrade the water brought to cool his own parched lips. From all of which it was argued that the march to the Brazos would be but as the calm before the hurricane—that in the crisis the American poet would have devotion equal to the English poet. From the Marshall Conference to the present time, however, the sky has been without a war cloud, the lazy cattle have multiplied by all

the water-course, and from pink to white the cotton has bloomed, and blown, and been harvested.

Before Shelby reached his division away up on the prairies about Kaufman, news came that Smith had resumed command of the army, and that a flag of truce boat was ascending Red river to Shreveport. This meant surrender. Men whose *rendezvous* has been agreed upon, and whose campaigns have been marked out, had no business with flags of truce. By the end of the next day's march Smith's order of surrender came. It was very brief and very comprehensive. The soldiers were to be concentrated at Shreveport, were to surrender their arms and munitions of war, were to take paroles and transportation wherever the good Federal diety in command happened to think appropriate.

What of Buckner with his solemn promises, his recent conferred authority, his elegant new uniform, his burnished sword with its burnished scabbard, his sweet little sonnets, luscious as strawberries, his swart, soldierly face, handsome enough again for Murat? Thinking of his Chicago property, and contemplating the mournful fact of having been chosen to surrender the first and the last army of the Confederacy.

Smith's heart failed him when the crisis came. Buckner's heart was never fired at all. All their hearts failed them except the Missouri Governor's and the Missouri General's, and so the Brazos ran on to the sea without having watered a cavalry steed or reflected the gleam of a burnished bayonet. In the meantime, however, Preston was well on his way to Mexico. Later, it will be seen how Bazaine received him, and what manner of a conversation he had with the Emperor Maximilian touching Shelby's scheme at the Marshall Conference.

Two plans presented themselves to Shelby the instant the news came of Smith's surrender. The first was to throw his division upon Shreveport by forced marches, seize the government, appeal to the army, and then carry out the original order of concentration. The second was to make all surrender impossible by attacking the Federal forces, wherever

and whenever he could find them. To resolve with him was to execute. He wrote a proclamation destined for the soldiers, and for want of better material, had it printed upon wall paper. It was a variegated thing, all blue, and black and red, and unique as a circus advertisement.

"Soldiers, you have been betrayed. The generals whom you trusted have refused to lead you. Let us begin the battle again by a revolution. Lift up the flag that has been cast down dishonored. Unsheathe the sword that it may remain unsullied and victorious. If you desire it, I will lead; if you demand it, I will follow. We are the army and the cause. To talk of surrender is to be a traitor. Let us seize the traitors and attack the enemy. Forward, for the South and Liberty!"

Man proposes and God disposes. A rain came out of the sky that was an inundation even for Texas. All the bridges in the west were swept away in a night. The swamps that had been dry land rose against the saddle girths. There were no roads, nor any spot of earth for miles and miles dry enough for a bivouac. Sleepless and undismayed, the brown-bearded, bronzed Missourian toiled on, his restless eyes fixed on Shreveport. There the drama was being enacted he had struggled like a giant to prevent; there division after division marched in, stacked their arms, took their paroles, and were disbanded. When, by superhuman exertions, his command had forced itself through from Kaufman to Corsicana, the fugitives began to arrive. Smith had again surrendered to Buckner, and Buckner in turn had surrendered to the United States. It was useless to go forward. If you attack the Federals, they pleaded, you will imperil our unarmed soldiers. It was not their fault. Do not hold them responsible for the sins of their officers. They were faithful to the last, and even in their betrayal they were true to their colors.

Against such appeals there was no answer. The hour for a *coupe d'etat* had passed, and from a revolutionist Shelby was about to become an exile. Even in the bitterness of his overthrow he was grand. He had been talking to uniformed

things, full of glitter, and varnish, and gold lace, and measured intonations of speech that sounded like the talk stately heroes have, but they were all clay and carpet-knights. Smith faltered, Buckner faltered, other Generals, not so gay and gaudy, faltered; they all faltered. If war had been a woman, winning as Cleopatra, with kingdoms for caresses, the lips that sang sonnets would never have kissed her. After the smoke cleared away, only Shelby and Reynolds stood still in the desert—the past a Dead Sea behind them, the future, what—the dark?

One more duty remained to be done. The sun shone, the waters had subsided, the grasses were green and undulating, and Shelby's Missouri Cavalry Division came forth from its bivouac for the last time. A call ran down its ranks for volunteers for Mexico. One thousand bronzed soldiers rode fair to the front, over them the old barred banner, worn now, and torn, and well nigh abandoned. Two and two they ranged themselves behind their leader, waiting.

The good-byes and the partings followed. There is no need to record them here. Peace and war have no road in common. Along the pathway of one there are roses and thorns; along the pathway of the other there are many thorns, with a sprig or two of laurel when all is done. Shelby chose the last and marched away with his one thousand men behind him. That night he camped over beyond Corsicana, for some certain preparations had to be made, and some valuable war munitions had to be gathered in.

Texas was as a vast arsenal. Magnificent batteries of French artillery stood abandoned upon the prairies. Those who surrendered them took the horses but left the guns. Imported muskets were in all the towns, and to fixed ammunition there was no limit. Ten beautiful Napoleon guns were brought into camp and appropriated. Each gun had six magnificent horses, and six hundred rounds of shell and canister. Those who were about to encounter the unknown began by preparing for giants. A complete organization was next effected. An election was held in due and formal manner,

and Shelby was chosen Colonel with a shout. He had received every vote in the regiment except his own. Misfortunes at least make men unanimous. The election of the companies came next. Some who had been majors came down to corporals, and more who had been lieutenants went up to majors. Rank had only this rivalry there, the rivalry of self-sacrifice. From the colonel to the rearmost men in the rearmost file, it was a forest of Sharp's carbines. Each carbine had, in addition to the forty rounds the soldiers carried, three hundred rounds more in the wagon train. Four Colt's pistols each, dragoon size, and a heavy regulation sabre, completed the equipment. For the revolvers there were ten thousand rounds apiece. Nor was this all. In the wagons there were powder, lead, bullet-moulds, and six thousand elegant new Enfields just landed from England, with the brand of the Queen's arms still upon them. Recruits were expected, and nothing pleases a recruit so well as a bright new musket, good for a thousand yards.

For all these heavy war materials much transportation was necessary. It could be had for the asking. Gen. Smith's dissolving army, under the terms of the surrender, was to give up everything. And so they did, right willingly. Shelby took it back again, or at least what was needed. The march would be long, and he meant to make it honorable, and therefore, in addition to the horses, the mules, the cannon, the wagons, the fixed ammunition, and the muskets, Shelby took flour and bacon. The quantities were limited entirely by the anticipated demand, and for the first time in its history the Confederacy was lavish of its commissary stores.

When all these things were done and well done—these preparations—these tearings down and buildings up—these re-organizations and re-habilitations—this last supreme restoration of the equilibrium of rank and position, a council of war was called. The old ardor of battle was not yet subdued in the breast of the leader. Playfully calling his old soldiers young recruits, he wanted as a kind of purifying process, to carry them into battle.

The council fire was no larger than an Indian's and around it were grouped Elliot, Gordon, Slayback, Williams, Collins, Langhorne, Crisp, Jackman, Blackwell, and a host of others who had discussed weighty questions before upon eve of battle—questions that had men's lives in them as thick as sentences in a school book.

"Before we march southward," said Shelby, "I thought we might try the range of our new Napoleons."

No answer, save that quiet look one soldier gives to another when the firing begins on the skirmish line.

"There is a great gathering of Federals at Shreveport, and a good blow in that direction might clear up the military horizon amazingly."

No answer yet. They all knew what was coming, however.

"We might find hands, too," and here his voice was wistful and pleading; "We might find hands for our six thousand bright new Enfields. What do you say, comrades?"

They consulted some little time together and then took a vote upon the proposition whether, in view of the fact that there were a large number of unarmed Confederates at Shreveport awaiting transportation, it would be better to attack or not to attack. It was decided against the proposition, and without further discussion, the enterprise was abandoned. These last days of the division were its best. For a week it remained preparing for the long and perilous march—a week full of the last generous rites brave men could pay to a dead cause. Some returning and disbanded soldiers were tempted at times to levy contributions upon the country through which they passed, and at times to do some cowardly work under cover of darkness and drink. Shelby's stern orders arrested them in the act, and his swift punishment left a shield over the neighborhood that needed only its shadow to ensure safety. The women blessed him for his many good deeds done in those last dark days—deeds that shine out yet from the black wreck of things—a star.

This kind of occupation ended at last, however, and the column marched away southward. One man alone knew French and they were going to a land filled full of Frenchmen. One man alone knew Spanish, and they were going to the land of the Spaniards. The first only knew the French of the schools which was no French; and the last had been bitten by a tawny tarantula of a senorita somewhere up in Sonora, and was worthless and valueless when most needed in the ranks that had guarded and protected him.

Before reaching Austin a terrible tragedy was enacted—one of those sudden and bloody things so thoroughly in keeping with the desperate nature of the men who witnessed it. Two officers—one a Captain and one a Lieutenant—quarreled about a woman, a fair young thing enough, lissome and light of love. She was the Captain's by right of discovery, the Lieutenant's by right of conquest. At the night encampment she abandoned the old love for the new, and in the struggle for possession the Captain struck the Lieutenant fair in the face.

"You have done a serious thing," some comrade said to him.

"It will be more serious in the morning," was the quiet reply.

"But you are in the wrong and you should apologize."

He tapped the handle of his revolver significantly, and made answer.

"This must finish what the blow has commenced. A woman worth kissing is worth fighting for.

I do not mention names. There are those to-day living in Marion county whose sleep in eternity will be lighter and sweeter if they are left in ignorance of how one fair-haired boy died who went forth to fight battles of the South and found a grave when *her* battles were ended.

The Lieutenant challenged the Captain, but the question of its acceptance was decided even before the challenge was received. These were the terms: At daylight the principals were to meet one mile from the camp upon the prairie, armed

each with a revolver and a saber. They were to be mounted and stationed twenty paces apart, back to back. At the word they were to wheel and fire advancing if they chose or remaining stationary if they chose. In no event were they to pass beyond a line two hundred yards in the rear of each position. This space was accorded as that in which the combatants might rein up and return again to the attack.

So secret were the preparations, and so sacred the honor of the two men, that, although the difficulty was known to three hundred soldiers, not one of them informed Shelby. He would have instantly arrested the principals and forced a compromise, as he had done once before under circumstances as urgent but in no ways similar.

It was a beautiful morning, all balm, and bloom and verdure. There was not wind enough to shake the sparkling dew drops from the grass—not wind enough to lift breast high the heavy odor of the flowers. The face of the sky was placid and benignant. Some red like a blush shone in the east, and some clouds, airy and gossamer, floated away to the west. Some birds sang, too, hushed and far apart. Two and two, and in groups, men stole away from the camp and ranged themselves on either flank. A few rude jokes were heard, but they died out quickly as the combatants rode up to the dead line. Both were calm and cool, and on the Captain's face there was a half smile. Poor fellow, there were already the scars of three honorable wounds upon his body. The fourth would be his death wound.

They were placed, and sat their horses like men who are about to charge. Each head was turned a little to one side, the feet rested lightly in the stirrups, the left hands grasped the reins well gathered up, the right hands held the deadly pistols, loaded fresh an hour before.

"Ready—*wheel!*" The trained steeds turned upon a pivot as one steed.

"Fire!"

The Lieutenant never moved from his tracks. The Captain dashed down upon him at a full gallop, firing as he

came on. Three chambers were emptied, and three bullets sped away over the prairie, harmless. Before the fourth fire was given the Captain was abreast of the Lieutenant, and aiming at him at deadly range. Too late! The Lieutenant threw out his pistol until the muzzle almost touched the Captain's hair, and fired. The mad horse dashed away riderless, the Captain's life-blood upon his trappings and his glossy hide. There was a face in the grass, a widowed woman in Missouri, and a soul somewhere in the white hush and waste of eternity. A great dragoon ball had gone directly through his brain, and the Captain was dead before he touched the ground. They buried him before the sun rose, before the dew was dried upon the grass that grew upon his premature and bloody grave. There was no epitaph, yet this might have been lifted there, ere the grim soldiers marched away again to the South:

"Ah, soldier, to your honored rest,  
Your truth and valor bearing;  
The bravest are the tenderest,  
The loving are the daring."

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### CHAPTER III.

At Houston, Texas, there was a vast depot of supplies filled with all kinds of quartermaster and commissary stores. Shelby desired that the women and children of *true* soldiers should have such of these as would be useful or beneficial, and so issued his orders. These were disputed by a thousand or so refugees or renegades whose heads were beginning to be lifted up everywhere as soon as the last mutterings of the war storm were heard in the distance.

He called to him two Captains—James Meadow and James Wood—two men known of old as soldiers fit for any strife. The first is a farmer now in Jackson—the last a farmer in Pettis—both young, brave, worthy of all good luck or fortune.

They came speedily—they saluted and waited for orders.

Shelby said:

"Take one hundred men and march quickly to Houston. Gallop oftener than you trot. Proclaim to the Confederate women that on a certain day you will distribute to them whatever of cloth, flour, bacon, medicines, clothing, or other supplies they may need, or that are in store. Hold the town until that day, and then obey my orders to the letter."

"But if we are attacked?"

"Don't wait for that. Attack first."

"And fire ball cartridges?"

"And fire nothing else. Bullets first—speeches afterwards."

They galloped away to Houston. Two thousand greedy and clamorous ruffians were besieging the warehouses. They had not fought for Texas and not one dollar's worth of Texas property should they have. Wood and Meadow drew up in front of them.

"Disperse!" they ordered.

Wild, vicious eyes glared out upon them from the mass, red and swollen by drink. They had rifled an arsenal, too, and all had muskets and cartridges.

"After we have seen what's inside this building, and taken what's best for us to take," the leader answered, "we will disperse. The war's over, young fellows, and the strongest party takes the plunder. Do you understand our logic?"

"Perfectly," replied Wood, as cool as a grenadier, "and it's bad logic, if you were a Confederate, good logic if you are a thief. Let *me* talk a little. We are Missourians, we are leaving Texas, we have no homes, but we have our orders and our honor. Not so much as one percussion cap shall you take from this house until you bring a written order from Jo. Shelby, and one of Shelby's men along with you to prove that you did not forge that order. Do you understand my logic?"

They understood him well, and they understood better the one hundred stern soldiers drawn up ten paces to the

rear, with eyes to the front and revolvers drawn. Shrill voices from the outside of the crowd urged those nearest to the detachment to fire, but no weapon was presented. Such was the terror of Shelby's name, and such the reputation of his men for prowess, that not a robber stirred. By and by, from the rear, they began to drop away one by one, then in squads of tens and twenties, until, before an hour, the streets of Houston were as quiet and as peaceful as the cattle upon the prairies. These two determined young officers obeyed their instructions and rejoined their general.

Similar scenes were enacted at Tyler and Waxahatchie. At the first of these places was an arsenal guarded by Colonel Blackwell, and a small detachment consisting of squads under Captain Ward, Cordell, Rudd, Kirtley and Neale. They were surrounded in the night time by a furious crowd of mountain plunderers and shirking conscripts—men who had dodged both armies or deserted both. They wanted guns to begin the war on their neighbors after the real war was over.

"You can't have any," said Blackwell.

"We will take them."

"Come and do it. These are Shelby's soldiers, and they don't know what being taken means. Pray teach it to us."

This irony was had in the darkness, be it remembered, and in the midst of seven hundred desperate deer-hunters and marauders who had baffled all the efforts of the regular authorities to capture them. Blackwell's detachment numbered thirty-eight. And now a deed was done that terrified the boldest in all that band grouped together in the darkness, and waiting to spring upon the little handful of devoted soldiers, true to that country which no longer had either thanks or praise to bestow. James Kirtley, James Rudd, Samuel Downing and Albert Jeffries seized each a keg of powder and advanced in front of the arsenal some fifty paces, leaving behind them from the entrance a dark and ominous train. Where the halt was had a little heap of powder was placed upon the ground, and upon each heap was placed a keg,

the hole downwards, or connected with the heap upon the ground. The mass of marauders surged back as if the earth had opened at their very feet.

"What do you mean?" they yelled.

"To blow you into hell," was Kirtley's quiet reply, "if you're within range while we are eating our supper. We have ridden thirty miles, we have good consciences, and therefore we are hungry. Good night!" And the reckless soldiers went back singing. One spark would have half demolished the town. A great awe fell upon the clamoring hundreds, and they precipitatedly fled from the deadly spot, not a skulker among them remaining until daylight.

At Waxahatchie it was worse. Here Maurice Langhorne kept guard. Langhorne was a Methodist turned soldier. He publishes a paper now in Independence, harder work, perhaps, than soldiering. Far be it from the author to say that the young Captain ever fell from grace. His oaths were few and far between, and not the great strapping oaths of the Baptists or the Presbyterians. They adorned themselves with black kids and white neckties, and sometimes fell upon their knees. Yet Langhorne was always orthodox. His pistol practice was superb. During his whole five years' service he never missed his man.

He held Waxahatchie with such soldiers as John Kritzer, Martin Kritzer, Jim Crow Childs, Bud Pitcher, Cochran, and a dozen others. He was surrounded by a furious mob who clamored for admittance into the building where the stores were.

"Go away," said Langhorne mildly. His voice was soft enough for a preacher's, his looks bad enough for a backslider.

They fired on him a close, hot volley. Wild work followed, for with such men how could it be otherwise? No matter who fell nor the number of the dead and dying, Langhorne held the town that night, the day following, and the next night. There was no more mob. A deep peace came to the neighborhood, and as he rode away there were many

true brave Confederates who came to his little band and blessed them for what had been done. In such guise did these last acts of Shelby array themselves. Scorning all who in the name of soldiers plundered the soldiers, he left a record behind him which, even to this day, has men and women to rise up and call it noble.

After Houston, and Tyler, and Waxahatchie, came Austin. The march had become to be an ovation. Citizens thronged the roads, bringing with them refreshments and good cheer. No soldier could pay for anything. Those who had begun by condemning Shelby's stern treatment of the mob, ended by upholding him.

Governor Murrah, of Texas, still remained at the capital of his State. He had been dying for a year. All those insidious and deceptive approaches of consumption were seen in the hectic cheeks, the large, mournful eyes, the tall, bent frame that quivered as it moved. Murrah was a gifted and brilliant man, but his heart was broken. In his life there was the memory of an unblessed and an unhallowed love, too deep for human sympathy, too sad and passionate for tears. He knew death was near to him, yet he put on his old gray uniform, and mounted his old, tried war-horse, and rode away dying to Mexico. Later, in Monterey, the red in his cheeks had burned itself out. The crimson had turned to ashen gray. He was dead with his uniform around him.

The Confederate government had a sub-treasury in Austin, in the vaults of which were three hundred thousand dollars in gold and silver. Operating about the city was a company of notorious guerillas, led by a Captain Rabb, half ranchero and half freebooter. It was pleasant pasturage over beyond the Colorado River, and thither the Regiment went, for it had marched far, and it was weary. Loitering late for wine and wassail, many soldiers halted in the streets and tarried till the night came—a misty, cloudy, ominous night, full of darkness and dashes of rain.

Suddenly a tremendous battering arose from the iron doors of the vaults in the State House where the money was

kept. Silent horsemen galloped to and fro through the gloom; the bells of the churches were rung furiously; a home guard company mustered at their armory to the beat of the long roll and from beyond the Colorado there arose on the night air the full, resonant blare of Shelby's bugle sounding the well-known rallying call. In some few brief moments more the head of a solid column, four deep, galloped into the Square, reporting for duty to the Mayor of the city—a maimed soldier of Lee's army. Ward led them.

"They are battering down the treasury doors," said the Mayor.

"I should think so," replied Ward. "Iron and steel must soon give way before such blows. What would you have?"

"The safety of the treasure."

"Forward, men!" and the detachment went off at a trot and in through the great gate leading to the Capitol. It was surrounded. The blows continued. Lights shone through all the windows; there were men inside gorging themselves with gold. No questions were asked. A sudden, pitiless jet of flame spurted out from two score of Sharps' carbines; there was the sound of falling men on the echoing floor, and then a great darkness. From out the smoke, and gloom, and shattered glass, and scattered eagles, they dragged the victims forth—dying, bleeding, dead. One among the rest, a great-framed, giant man, had a king's ransom about his person. He had taken off his pantaloons, tied a string around each leg at the bottom and had filled them. An epicure even in death, he had discarded the silver. These white heaps, like a wave, had inundated the room, more precious to fugitive men than food or raiment. Not a dollar was touched, and a stern guard took his post, as immutable as fate, by the silver heaps and the blood puddles. In walking his beat this blood splashed him to the knees.

Now this money was money of the Confederacy, it belonged to her soldiers, they should have taken it and divided

it per capita. They did not do this because of this remark. Said Shelby when they appealed to him to take it as a right:

"I went into the war with clean hands, and by God's blessing, I will go out of the war with clean hands."

After that they would have starved before touching a silver picayune.

Ere marching the next morning, however, Murrah came to Shelby and insisted that as his command was the last organized body of Confederates in Texas, that as they were on the eve of abandoning the country, he should take this Confederate property just as he had taken the cannon and the muskets. The temptation was strong, and the arguments were strong, but he never wavered. He knew what the world would say, and he dreaded its malice. Not for himself, however, but for the sake of the nation he had loved and fought so hard to establish.

"We are the last of the race," he said, a little regretfully, "but let us be the best as well."

And so he turned his back upon the treasury and its gold, penniless. His soldiers were ragged, without money, exiles, and yet at his bidding they set their faces as iron against the heaps of silver, and the broken doors of the treasury vaults, and rode on into the South.

When the line of demarkation was so clearly drawn between what was supposed, and what was intended—when, indeed, Shelby's line of march was so straight and so steadfast as to no longer leave his destination in doubt, fugitives began to seek shelter under his flag and within the grim ranks of his veterans. Ex-Governor and Ex-Senator Trusten Polk was one of these. He, like the rest, was homeless and penniless, and joined his fortune to the fortunes of those who had just left three hundred thousand dollars in specie in Austin. From all of which Trusten Polk might have argued:

"These fellows will carry me through, but they will find for me no gold or silver mines."

Somewhere in the State were other fugitives struggling to reach Shelby—fugitive Generals, Governors, Congressmen

Cabinet officers, men who imagined that the whole power of the United States Government was bent upon their capture. Smith was making his way to Mexico, so was Magruder, Reynolds, Parsons, Standish, Conrow, General Lyon of Kentucky, Flournoy, Terrell, Clark and Snead of Texas; General John B. Clark, Sr., General Prevost of Louisiana; Governor Henry W. Allen, Commodore M. F. Maury, General Bee, General Oscar Watkins, Colonel Wm. M. Broadwell, Colonel Peter B. Wilks, and a host of others, equally determined on flight and equally out at elbows. Of money they had scarcely fifty dollars to the man. Magruder brought his superb spirits and his soldierly heart for every fate; Reynolds, his elegant cultivation and his cool, indomitable courage; Smith, his useless repinings and his rigid West Point courtesy; Allen, his electric enthusiasm and his abounding belief in providence; Maury, his learning and his foreign decorations; Clark, his inimitable drollery and his broad Southern humor; Prevost, his French gallantry and wit; Broadwell, his generosity and his speculative views of the future; Bee, his theories of isothermal lines and cotton planting; and Parsons, and Standish and Conrow the shadow of a great darkness that was soon to envelop them as in a cloud—the darkness of bloody and premature graves.

The command was within three days' march of San Antonio. As it approached Mexico, the grass gave place to mesquite—the wide, undulating prairies to matted and impenetrable stretches of chapparal. All the rigid requirements of war had been carried out—the picquet guard, the camp guard, the advanced posts, and the outlying scouts, aimless and objectless, apparently, but full of daring, cunning and guile.

Pasturage was scarce this night, and from water to grass was two good miles. The artillery and commissary teams needed to be fed, and so a strong guard was sent with them to the grazing place. They were magnificent animals all, fat and fine enough to put bad thoughts in the fierce natures of the cow-boys—an indigenous Texas growth—and the unruly borderers.

They had been gone an hour, and the sad roll of tattoo had floated away on the night air. A scout—Martin Kritzer—rode rapidly up to Shelby and dismounted.

He was dusty and tired, and had ridden far and fast. As a soldier, he was all iron; as a scout, all intelligence; as a sentinel, unacquainted with sleep.

"Well, Martin," his General said.

"They are after the horses," was the sententious reply.

"What horses?"

"Those of the artillery."

"Why do they want them?"

The cavalry soldier looked at his General in surprise. It was the first time in his life he had ever lost confidence in him. Such a question from such a source was more than he could well understand. He repeated slowly, a look of honest credulity on his bronzed face:

"Why do they want them—Well, because they are fine, fat, trained in the harness, scarce to find, and worth half their weight in gold. Are these reasons enough?"

Shelby did not reply. He ordered Langhorne to report to him. He came up as he always came, smiling.

"Take fifty men," were the curt instructions, "and station them a good half mile in front of the pasturing place. There must be no bullets dropping in among our stock, and they must have plenty of grass room. You were on duty last night, I believe."

"Yes, General."

"And did not sleep?"

"No, General."

"Nor will you sleep to-night. Station the men, I say, and then station yourself at the head of them. You will hear a noise in the night—late in the night—and presently a dark body of horsemen will march up, fair to see between the grass and the sky-line. You need not halt them. When the range gets good fire and charge. Do you understand?"

"Perfectly."

In an hour Langhorne was at his post, silent as fate and terrible, couching there in his lair, with fifty good carbines behind him. About midnight a low lode like thunder sprang up from towards San Antonio. The keen ear of the practiced soldier took in its meaning, as a sailor might the speech of the sea.

"Get ready—they are coming."

The indolent forms lifted themselves up from the great shadow of the earth. When they were still again they were mounted.

The thunder grew louder. What had before been noises was now shape and substance. Seventy-eight border men were riding down to raid the herders.

"Are you all loaded?" Asked Langhorne.

"All. Have been for four years."

From the mass in front plain figures evolved themselves. Under the stars their gun-barrels shone.

"They have guns" sneered Langhorne, "but no scouts in front. What would Old Joe say to that?"

"He would dismount them and send them to the infantry," laughed John Kritzer.

The leading files were within fifty yards—near enough for a volley. They had not heard this grim by-play, rendered under the night and to the ears of an unseen death crouching in the prairie grass.

"Make ready!" Langhorne's voice had a gentleness in it, soft as a caress. The Methodist had turned lover.

Fifty dark muzzles crept out to the front, and waited there, gaping.

"Take aim!" The softest things are said in whispers. The Methodist was about to deliver the benediction.

"Fire!"

A red cleft in the heart of the midnight—a murky shroud of dun and dark that smelt of sulphur—a sudden uprearing of staggering steeds and staggering riders—a wild, pitiful panic of spectres who had encountered the unknown—and fifty terrible men dashed down to the charge. Why follow the

deadly work under the sky and the stars. It was providence fulfilling a vow—fate restoring the equilibrium of justice—justice vindicating the supremacy of its immortal logic. Those who came to rob had been a scourge more dreaded than the pestilence—more insatiate than a famine. Defying alike civil and martial law, they had preyed alternately upon the people and the soldiers. They were desperadoes and marauders of the worst type, feared and hated or both. Beyond a few scattering shots, fired by the boldest of them in retreat, they made no fight. The dead were not buried. As the regiment moved on toward San Antonio, thirty-nine could have been counted lying out in the grass—booted and spurred, and awaiting the Judgment Day.

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## CHAPTER IV.

San Antonio, in the full drift of the tide which flowed in from Mexico, was first an island and afterwards an oasis. To the hungry and war-worn soldiers of SHELBY'S expedition it was a Paradise. Mingo, the unparalleled host of Mingo's Hotel, was the guardian angel, but there was no terror in his looks, not any flaming sword in his hand. Here, everything that European markets could afford, was found in abundance. Cotton, magnificent even in its overthrow, had chosen this last spot as the city of its refuge and its caresses. Fugitive Generals had gathered here, and fugitive Senators, and fugitive Governors, and fugitive desperadoes, as well, men sententious of speech and quick of pistol practice. These last had taken immediate possession of the city, and were rioting in the old royal fashion, sitting in the laps of courtesans and drinking wines fresh through the blockade from France. Those passers-by who jeered at them as they went to and fro received a fusillade for their folly. Seven even had been killed—seven good Texas soldiers—and a great fear had fallen upon the place, this antique, half-Mexican city which had been Fannin's new Thermopylae, and the black Spanish

death-flag wind itself up into the Alamo. When the smoke had cleared away and the powder-pall had been lifted, the black had become crimson.

First a speck and then a vulture, until the streets had become dangerous with desperadoes. They had plundered a dozen stores, had sacked and burnt a commissary train, had levied a *prestamo* upon the citizens, and had gone one night to "smoke out Tom Hindman," in their rough border dialect. Less fortunate than Putnam, they found the wolf's den, and the wolf was within, but he showed his teeth and made fight. They hammered at his door furiously. A soft, musical voice called out:

"What do you want?"

Hindman was a small man, having the will and the courage of a Highlander. Eloquent of speech, cool, a colloquial swordsman whose steel had poison on it from point to hilt, audacious in plot, imperturbable in *finesse*, grayeyed, proud at times to isolation, unsuccessful in the field, and incomparable in the cabinet, it was this manner of a man who had called out from behind his barricade.

The leader of the attacking party answered him:

"It is said that you have dealt in cotton, that you have gold, that you are leaving the country. We have come for the gold—that is all."

"Indeed!" and the soft voice was strangely harsh and guttural now. "Then, since you have come for the gold, suppose you take the gold. In the absence of all law, might makes right."

He spoke to them not another word that night, but no man advanced to the attack upon the building, and when the daylight came, Shelby was in possession of the city. A deputation of citizens had traveled twenty miles that day to his camp, and besought him to hasten forward, that their lives and their property might be saved. The camp was in deep sleep, for the soldiers had traveled far, but they mustered to the shrill bugle call, and rode on through the long night afterwards, for honor and for duty.

Discipline is a stern, chaste queen—beautiful at times as Semiramis, ferocious as Medea. Her hands are those of the priest and the executioner. They excommunicate, which is a bandage over the eyes and a platoon of musketry; they make the sign of the cross, which is the acquittal of a drum-head court-martial. Most generally the excommunications outnumber the genuflections.

D. A. Williams did provost duty on one side of the river, A. W. Slayback upon the other. What slipped through the hands of the first fell into those of the last. What escaped both, fell into the water. Some men are born to be shot, some to be hung, and some to be drowned. Even desperadoes have this fatality in common with the Christians, and thus in the ranks of the plunderers there is predestination. Peace came upon the city as the balm of a southeast trade-wind, and after the occupation there was an ovation. Women walked forth as if to a festival. The Plaza transformed itself into a *parterre*. Roses bloomed in the manes of the horses—these were exotic; roses bloomed in the faces of the maidens—these were divine. After Cannae there was Capua. Shelby had read of Hannibal, and Carthaginian, and had seen Hannibal the elephant, and so in his mind there was no more comparison between the battle and the town than there was between the man and the animal. He would rest a little, much, many glad and sunshiny days, filled full of dalliance, and dancing, and music.

Mingo's Hotel from a cloister had become to be a cantonment. It was noisy like a hive, vocal like a morning in May. Serenading parties improvised themselves. Jake Connor lead them, an artillery officer, who sang like Mario and fought like Victor Emmanuel. In his extremes he was Italian. On the edge of all this languor and love, discipline, like a fringe, arrayed itself. Patrols paraded the streets, made time, and in the midst of a flood of defeat, disaster, greed, overthrow, and rending asunder, there was one ark which floated hither and thither, armed in a fashion unknown to Noah, bearing a strange barred banner at the fore—the

Banner of the Bars. When its Ararat was found there was no longer any more Ark.

On the evening of the second day of occupation, an ambulance drew up in front of the Mingo House. Besides the driver, there alighted an old man, aged, bent, spent with fatigue, and dusty as a foot soldier. Shelby sat in the balcony watching him, a light of recognition in his calm eyes. The old man entered, approached the register, and wrote his name. One having curiosity enough to look over his shoulder might have read:

"WILLIAM THOMPSON."

Fair enough name and honest. The old man went to his room and locked his door. The windows of his room looked out upon the plaza. In a few moments it was noticed that the blinds were drawn, and the curtains down. Old men need air and sunlight; they do not commence hibernating in June.

When he had drawn his blinds, Shelby called up Connor.

"Get your band together, Lieutenant," was the order.

"For what, General?"

"For a serenade."

"A serenade to whom?"

"No matter, but a serenade just the same. Order, also, as you go out by headquarters, that all the men not on duty, get under arms immediately and parade in front of the balcony."

The assembly blew a moment afterwards, and as the sun set a serried mass of soldiers, standing shoulder to shoulder, were in line, waiting. Afterwards the band marched into the open place reserved for it, Connor leading.

Shelby pointed up to the old man's window, smiling.

"Play Hail to the Chief," he said.

It was done. No answering signals at the window. The blinds from a look of silence had put on one of selfishness.

Shelby spoke again:

"Try 'Dixie,' boys. If the old man were dead it would bring him to life again."

The sweet, familiar strains rose up, rapid and exultant, filling all the air with life and all the pulses with blood. When they had died with the sunset, there was still no answer.

Shelby spoke again:

"That old man up there is Kirby Smith; I would know him among a thousand. Shout for him until you are hoarse."

A great roar burst forth like a tempest, shaking the house, and in the full torrent of the tide, and borne aloft as an awakening cry, could be heard the name of "Smith! Smith!"

The blinds flew open. The curtains were rolled up, and in plain view of this last remnant of his magnificent army of fifty thousand men, Gen. E. Kirby Smith came forth undisguised, a look full of eagerness and wonderment on his weary and saddened face. He did not understand the greeting, the music, the armed men, the eyes that had penetrated his disguise, the shouts that had invaded his retreat. Threatened with death by roving and predatory bands from Shreveport to San Antonio, he knew not whether one friend remained to him of all the regiments he had fed, clothed, flattered, and left unfought.

Shelby rose up in his place, a great respect and tenderness at work in his heart for this desolate and abandoned man who lived the military life that was in him, and who—a stranger in a land filled full of his soldiers—had not so much as a broken flag staff to lean upon. Given not overmuch to speaking, and brief of logic and rhetoric, he won the exile when he said to him:

"General Smith, you are the ranking officer in the Trans-Mississippi Department. These are your soldiers, and we are here to report to you. Command, and we obey; lead us and we will follow. In this public manner, and before all San Antonio, with music and with banners, we come to proclaim your arrival in the midst of that little band which knows neither dishonor nor surrender. You were seeking concealment, and you have found a noontide of soldierly obedience and devotion. You were seeking the night and the obscurity of self-appointed banishment and exile, and you have found

guards to attend you, and the steadfast light of patriotism to make your pathway plain. We bid you good morning instead of good night, and await, as of old, your further orders."

Shouts arose upon shouts, triumphal music filled all the air again. Thrice Smith essayed to speak, and thrice his tears mastered him. In an hour he was in the ranks of his happy soldiers, as safe and as full of confidence as a king upon his throne.

There came also to San Antonio, before the march was resumed, an Englishman who was a mystery and an enigma. Some said he was crazy, and he might have been, for the line of demarkation is so narrow and so fine between the sound and unsound mind, that analysis, however acute, fails often to ascertain where the first ends and the last begins. This Englishman, however, was different from most insane people in this—that he was an elegant and accomplished linguist, and extensive traveler, a soldier who had seen service in Algeria with the French, and in the Crimea with the British, and a hunter who had known Jules Girard and Gordon Cumming. His views upon suicide were as novel as they were logically presented. His knowledge of chemistry, and the intricate yet fascinating science of toxicology, surprised all who conversed with him. He was a man of the middle age, seemingly rich, refined in all his habits and tastes, and singularly winning and fascinating in his intercourse with the men. Dudley, that eminent Kentucky physician, known of most men in America, declared, after the observations of a long life, that every man born of a woman was crazy upon some one subject. This Englishman, therefore, if he was crazy at all, was crazy upon the subject of Railroad Accidents. He had a feverish desire to see one, be in one, enjoy one, and run the risk of being killed by one. He had traveled, he said, over two continents, pursuing a phantom which always eluded him. Now before and now behind him, and then again upon the route he had just passed over, he had never so much as seen an engine ditched. As for a real, first-class collision,

he had long ago despaired of its enjoyment. His talk never ended of wrecked cars and shattered locomotives. With a sigh he abandoned his hopes of a luxury so peculiar and unnatural, and came as a private to an expedition which was taking him away from the land of railroads. Later, this strange Englishman, this traveler, linguist, soldier, philosopher, chemist—this monomaniac, too, if you will—was foremost in the battle of the Salinas, fighting splendidly, and well to the front. A musket ball killed his horse. He mounted another and continued to press forward. The second bullet shattered his left leg from the knee to the ankle. It was not known that he was struck until a third ball, entering the breast fairly, knocked him clear and clean from the saddle, dying. He lived until the sun went down—an hour and more. Before he died, however, the strangest part of his life was to come—that of his confession. When related, in its proper sequence, it will be found how prone the best of us are to forget that it is the heart which is oftener diseased than the head. He had suffered much in his stormy lifetime, had sinned not a little, and had died as a hunted wolf dies, victoriously and at bay.

At San Antonio, also Governor Reynolds and Gen. Magruder joined the expedition. The first was a man whose character had to be tried in the fiery crucible of military strife and disaster, that it might stand out grand, massive and indomitable. He was a statesman and a soldier. Much residence abroad had made him an accomplished diplomatist. He spoke three foreign languages fluently. To the acute analysis of a cultivated and expanded mind, he had added the exacting logic of the law. Poetry, and all the natural and outward forms of beauty affected him like other imaginative men, but in his philosophy he discarded the ornate for the strong, the Oriental architecture for the Corinthian. Revolution stood revealed before him, stripped of all its glare and tinsel. As a skilled physician, he laid his hand upon the pulse of the war and told the fluctuations of the disease from the symptoms of the patient. He knew the condition of the Confederacy better than its President, and worked like a

giant to avert the catastrophe. Shams fled before him as shadows before the sun. He heard no voice but of patriotism, knew no word but devotion, had no ambition but for his country, blessed no generals without victorious battle-fields, and exiled himself before he would surrender. His faith was spotless in the sight of that God of battles in whom he put his trust, and his record shone out through all the long, dark days as a light that was set upon a hill.

Magruder was a born soldier, dead now and gone to heaven. He had a figure like a Mars divested of immortality. He would fight all day and dance all night. He wrote love songs and sang them, and won an heiress rich beyond comparison. The wittiest man in the old army, Gen. Scott, adored him. His speech had a lisp that was attractive, inasmuch as it lingered over its puns and caressed its rhetoric. Six feet in height, and straight as Tecumseh, Magruder, in full regimentals, was the handsomest soldier in the Confederacy. Not the fair, blonde beauty of the city, odorous of perfume and faultless in tailor-fashion, but a great, bronzed Ajax, mighty thewed, and as strong of hand as strong of digestion. He loved women, too, and was beloved by them. After Galveston, with blood upon his garments, a bullet wound upon his body, and victory upon his standards, he danced until there was daybreak in the sky and sunlight upon the earth. From the fight to the frolic it had been fifty-eight hours since he had slept. A boy of sixty-four, penniless, with a family in Europe, homeless, bereft of an avocation he had grown gray in following, having no country and no calling, he, too, had come to his favorite officer to choose his bivouac and receive his protection. The ranks opened eagerly for this wonderful recruit, who carried in his old-young head so many memories of the land towards which all were journeying.

## HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS.

Readers of the *Review* will find much to interest them in this issue. Containing seven contributions on current and past history of the State, not including the departments on *Notes* and *Newspapers*, this number is indicative of the work being attempted by the *Review*. To enlist the cooperation of all students of Missouri history and to diffuse information on that subject, are the purposes underlying this magazine.

Adjutant General Clark's article on *Missourians in Service* is an invaluable resume on this important subject by a trained authority. Much has been written along this line, but no account met with is so commendable in its regard for accuracy, in its absence of mere laudatory phrases, and in its succinct brevity of statements. A pen picture of *Missourians in Service* is presented in this article. The high military position occupied by General Clark, his long career in military affairs, his leadership of men in camp and on the field, make this article a distinct contribution to the *Review*.

Mrs. Anna Brosius Korn's article on *Major Benjamin Holliday* will be of special interest to those familiar with Missouri journalism. Mrs. Korn's position regarding the founding of "Missouri's First Country Newspaper" is worthy of close examination. Documents of unquestioned authenticity are presented by Mrs. Korn to support her contention. No one can deny that the names of both Patten and Holliday appear as owners on the early issues of the *Intelligencer*. Patten sold his interest, later bought back and finally became sole owner and publisher until 1835. Holliday bought Patten's interest in 1820, became sole owner and publisher, and finally sold out in 1822. For decades Patten has been regarded as the real founder of the paper: Mrs. Korn takes the position that Holliday was the real founder. The best account of Patten's association with the paper is *Nathaniel Patten, Pioneer Editor*, by Dr. F. F. Stephens, (*Mo. Hist.*

*Rev.*, Vol. 9, pp. 139ff.). The best account of Holliday's association is the present one by Mrs. Korn.

Readers of the *Review* need no introduction to the writings of Prof. William G. Bek. The present series of articles on *The Followers of Duden* will be found even more enjoyable and instructive than was the excellent translation of *Duden's Report*. For years Dr. Bek has been collecting material for the present contributions. Missouri history has been greatly strengthened by the reserach work of this distinguished scholar.

*One Hundred Years of Medicine in Missouri*, by Dr. H. W. Loeb, of St. Louis, is a reproduction of the address delivered by the author at the Missouri Centennial Banquet held in Columbia on January 8, 1918. Dr. Loeb is an eminent member of his profession and has always been deeply interested in the history of medicine. His account of Missouri's contributions to this field of knowledge contains much that is not familiar even to students of local history. It will, therefore, be of great interest to all readers of the *Review*.

Prof. Sam T. Bratton's article on the *Inefficiency of Water Transportation in Missouri—A Geographical Factor in the Development of Railroads* is a distinct contribution. One wishes that the author had made his paper longer. This new viewpoint of Prof. Bratton's is pregnant with meaning. Students of the pre-war history period of the State must take cognizance of this. So much has been written lauding the old river traffic, that the modern historian has usually forgotten to mention the shortcomings of that traffic.

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#### COMMENTS.

Among the letters of appreciation received, these have been selected for reproduction:

"I want to confide in you that I desire to do everything on earth that I can for The State Historical Society because of my confidence in you and my feeling that every dollar will be well

spent. You have been a great aid to me in the last two years by furnishing me valuable information from time to time."

HON. FREDERICK D. GARDNER,  
Governor of the State of Missouri,  
Jefferson City, Missouri,  
May 29, 1919.

"Permit me to congratulate you on the work you are doing for The State Historical Society of Missouri, which seems to me, not only very commendable, but very important. Wishing you even greater success, I am

FRANCIS H. Sisson, Vice-Pres.,  
Guaranty Trust Company of New York,  
New York City,  
July 14, 1919.

"I appreciate the fact fully that the world is a very busy one and that the ordinary man, even though he be a thinking man, does not quite appreciate the importance of preserving the things which in future years become valuable. I find in this office some of the reports made right after the Civil War are missing and many old records which are now priceless were doubtless thrown away years ago. It is a great satisfaction to me to know that we have your society to protect us from ourselves and particularly that you are devoted to the work in hand. I feel a great interest in these things myself. The early history of our state has always had a fascination for me and I am always intensely interested in preserving everything having to do with the long ago."

H. C. CLARK,  
Adjutant General of the State of Missouri  
Jefferson City, Missouri,  
June 28, 1919.

"I wish also to thank you for having placed and retained my paper on the exchange list of the *Missouri Historical Review*. No paper or periodical comes to my office that affords me more genuine pleasure than it does. You have accomplished and are still doing a great work and benefit in behalf of those who are interested in the history of this State."

E. M. ZEVELY,  
Editor *Unterrified Democrat*,  
Linn, Missouri,  
June 29, 1919.

"Thanks to the diligence of the secretary of the Missouri State Historical Society in collecting data concerning the great war, we

have the information as to Missouri's total casualties up until June 1. The total reached 11,009, of which 10,560 were in the Army. The Missourians of the army and marines who died in battle numbered 1,270, while 493 in the same branches died of wounds. The total deaths in all branches from all causes were 3,483, to which may be added some of the 286 missing on land or sea. The severely wounded number 2,824. When the activity of the Missouri divisions is considered, there is cause for surprise in the fact that only 195 of all the forces engaged on land and sea were taken prisoners. While the figures made public at Columbia do not deal with the results of the fighting, it is known that many times this number of prisoners were taken by Missourians.

"The distribution of decorations and the number of citations of Missouri troops eloquently attest to their valor. The Missourians have maintained in Europe the fighting reputation established at New Orleans while this was still a territory and kept lustrous in every war since. The total runs 198, embracing the highest military honors conferred by the United States, France, Italy and Great Britain. The number will grow, for many other soldiers have been recommended. Descriptions of the gallantry of Missourians, which brought astonishment to officers who had seen superb displays of dauntless valor ever since the war began, are in a part of our contemporary literature, as they must become a part of our permanent history.

"The State Historical Society has never had a greater duty than the gathering and preserving of the record of Missourians in this war. When it has been gathered, arranged and the cold official accounts have been supplemented with vivid testimony of eye-witnesses, some genius will have the material for an epic. Artistic reproduction of some of the scenes in which Missourians gave their all for America should form a feature of whatever memorials the state and the several cities and counties erect."

Editorial in the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*,  
June 18, 1919.

"I am in receipt of your very courteous letter of June 27th, in which you answer in very full and satisfactory manner my inquiry as to the age and priority claims of the *Arkansas Gazette*. We have in our archives practically a complete set of files of the *Arkansas Gazette*. The first issue appeared November 20, 1818. The date above mentioned according to your statement, which statement I shall accept as final, makes the *Arkansas Gazette* the fifth oldest paper published west of the Mississippi river.

"I propose to present the fact with regard to this matter in such a manner, I trust, as to settle for all time the tradition which assumes that the Arkansas Gazette is the second oldest paper of the Mississippi."

DALLAS T. HERNDON,  
Secretary Arkansas Historical Association  
Little Rock, Arkansas,  
July 1, 1918.

"There is no one making a greater effort to preserve the history of Missouri for her people than the State Historical Society."

MISS ELIZABETH AUSTIN,  
Genealogist,  
Kansas City, Missouri,  
November 21, 1918.

"I am proud of the good showing our Society is making in the way of growth. The field of the historical society is a big one which always needs cultivation of the most advanced kind. Of the Historical Societies of other states of which I have knowledge, I find none more advanced than we really are, and none with sounder ideas of what is required of an historical society that it may live and grow and not *merely vegetate* as do most of them. The fact that we are keeping up with the procession and progressing in addition is due very largely to you and to your efforts, and I want therefore to compliment you on your showing of results."

WM. CLARK BRECKENRIDGE,  
Historian and Bibliographer,  
St. Louis, Missouri,  
June 12, 1919.

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AN ACTIVE MEMBER AND A PUBLIC SPIRITED CITIZEN.

Mr. A. F. McCray of Cowgill, Missouri, is a dealer in real estate, an auctioneer, and a banker in farm loans. He is also a dealer in hay, grain and seeds. These are his vocations. His avocation is Missouri history. Mr. McCray has been a member of this Society and a subscriber to *The Missouri Historical Review* for several years. As the *Review* increased in interest, Mr. McCray desired to see it more widely distributed. He has voluntarily obtained nine new subscribers for the *Review* and writes under recent date, "will get a good

many more in the near future." Mr. McCray says, "three of these new members are my children and I want each of them to become familiar with Missouri history."

The public spirited example of Mr. McCray is worthy of note. It is not difficult to find reason for Mr. McCray's own deep interest in Missouri history, since he is a veteran of the Civil War in the State, a survivor of the memorable battle of Lone Jack, and a man who sees beyond his township line. He appreciates the value of history, both State and National. He hopes to impart this appreciation to his children and his fellow citizens. There was never a time in the annals of this republic when education along broad lines was more important, not alone for individuals but over all for the State and Nation.

An appreciation of history and the science of government are today fundamental in that education. Without enlightenment on these subjects, the citizenry of a nation increases its chances for unrest and radicalism, and decreases its capacity for permanent progress.

No man can read the story of his people's efforts without loving his fellow man. He will find no epoch perfect, no period a Paradise, no governmental machinery infallible, but he will find both reason for imperfections and positive proof of progress. And, he will love and honor his native land more for knowing these things. The progress being made by man today will be conditioned by his regard for the experiences of the past. The wise son profits by his father's life, an enlightened posterity by the annals of ancestors. Many radical movements would die still-born if their supporters drew more on history and less on hysteria. Many reactionary positions would be abandoned if their defenders knew more of precedents and less of prejudice. Progress in social life is just as subject to general laws as is progress in arts and science. Respect and regard for the history of a people is only in conformity with conservative common sense. The millennium is met with in the annals of no land, but the nearest approach to widespread liberalism and economic

democracy will be found in the history of American commonwealths, among which Missouri stands high.

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#### AUTOGRAPHS.

Autographs of the world's great and rare editions of eminent authors, are studies that concern not only antiquarians, and book-men, but also millionaires, librarians, and collectors in civilized countries. Bibliographies for guidance of buyers and sellers have been compiled on these subjects and the amount of money expended yearly runs high. Contrary to common belief, age is only one of the factors, and a minor one, in giving value. The economic law of commodities, supply and demand, seem in full force in disposing of or obtaining a "Breeches Version Bible" in the same way as in selling or buying a piece of Missouri land. The old theory of marginal cost and marginal utility seems to have little application. An excellent, up-to-date, finely bound edition of a complete set of the works of Eugene Field may be obtained today direct from the publisher for \$30.00; the original, poorly printed, cheaply put-together simple volume of Field's *Denver Primer* would cost from \$250 to \$500, and the supply is so low that one would probably wait months before he found even an opportunity to bid. Many books are high because they are rare and valuable. On being reprinted, it frequently happens that even the original editions become cheap. In many cases, however, the contrary holds true. The larger the number of cheap editions issued of some works, the more popular their author becomes, and the more highly prized are his first and original editions. Even theft receives its reward here. "Pirated" editions of some authors sell higher in almost geometrical progression as the lawful editions sell lower. Some of Mark Twain's books "pirated" in Canada have a much higher value than the most artistic editions of his lawful publications in that country.

Rule and reason seem even more useless as guides in valuing autographs. The signatures of Queen Anne and her

well known Secretary of State, Viscount Bolingbroke, may be purchased for \$2.62, according to a recent catalog of a leading English book-seller, but he values a one page letter of the English author, Matthew Arnold, at \$4.37, a four page letter of the poetess, Elizabeth P. Browning, at \$4.68, and a single page letter of Robert Browning, written only forty years ago, is priced at \$10.68. Royalty may reign and rule, but not in the book marts of the world. Carlyle's autograph is valued higher than the seal of a sovereign. A letter of his written "in a very shaky hand" in 1876 is priced at \$10.00, a letter of Edward VII inviting a lady and her husband to dinner, "on headed notepaper, with crest," etc., is worth only \$4.37. The autograph of the American novelist Cooper is even higher, being listed at \$5.00. The scientist also has his glory, for Charles Darwin's signature is today worth \$16.25—six times as "high" as the seal of an English queen. Dickens could easily make a larger income today signing his name than he did writing his famous novels seventy-five years ago, if all his autographs sold at over \$10.00—the present list price.

German royalty is getting rare. Their autographs are not, however, raising in value. The signature of Frederick II ("The Great"), written in 1777, brings only \$3.75; the hand of the great Jewish statesman of England, Benjamin Disraeli, is more than twice as high, bringing \$8.75, and a short letter of the remarkable English novelist, George Eliot, slandered and attacked during her own life, now commands \$11.25. The seal of Thomas Hutchison, once Governor of Massachusetts, is worth \$15.00, a single page in the hand of Washington Irving brings \$20.

The initials of the philosopher John Locke, "with some quotations in Latin" and a few words in French—forty lines in all—are priced at \$17.50. Justice, tho sometimes slow in decision, decrees her awards fairly. The letters of the world famed nurse and humanitarian, Florence Nightingale, are prized highly. Twelve letters, six in pen and six in pencil, are valued at \$27.50. Altho this great and good woman associated with those of highest and lowest ranks, she mentions

in these letters only one woman of the nobility but "in numbered paragraphs" she describes and names a number of persons in the humblest circumstances. A letter of Dr. Benjamin Rush, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, commands \$20.00 and the letters of two other signers are valued at \$5.00. A single page letter of the famous actress, Sarah Siddons, brings \$22.50, altho a two page epistle from Wordsworth commands only \$10.00.

The popularity of the war conqueror seems to fade even faster than the pomp of heraldry. The lowest price for any sovereign's seal is \$2.50, while thirty-eight valuable letters of length of the great Duke of Wellington, the deliverer of Europe and the hero of England, bring only \$32.50, an average of 86 cents! How old Dr. Samuel Johnson, the father of "The Dictionary of the English Language," would chuckle in his haughty, domineering, cynical way if he knew that a single page of his own writing is today worth \$37.50—more in fact than he realized from some of his most finished literary productions. The half-blind, half-deaf, dropsical old literary lion would probably turn to his worshipper, Boswell, and calmly remark that the world must be advancing a little to have even this slight appreciation of worth and value.

Thackery, the great wit and novelist, would probably not be surprised to find his autograph selling either highest or lowest. He could find humor in either sale. This short note, revealing Thackery's fondness of getting fun out of the cockneyisms of the day, is priced at \$40—one dollar a word:

"My dear F., if you please I musn't come. I shant be ready I fear. If you have your work done I wonder whether you'll come to a drumkin (dance) here to-night. There will be some pooty gals. Yours, W. M. T."

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BINGHAMS ENGRAVINGS.

Thru the public spirited efforts of Prof. John S. Ankeny, Professor of Art, University of Missouri, and the citizens of

Columbia, large steel-engravings of two of the paintings of George C. Bingham, "The Missouri Artist," were purchased and presented in August to The State Historical Society of Missouri. The pictures were reproductions of "The Stump Speaker" and "The County Election," two of Bingham's most famous works. The engravings were owned by Miss L. C. Crumbaugh, of Columbia, who generously made possible their purchase at a very reasonable figure in order that the Society might come into possession of them.

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#### HANNIBAL BOY, YOUNGEST GUNNER IN A. E. F.

Hannibal, Missouri, has the distinction of being the home of the youngest gunner in the A. E. F., James E. Willerton. He enlisted at the age of fourteen, altho recruiting officers were forbidden to take boys of that age. Young Willerton first attempted to enlist in April, 1917. He gave his true age and was rejected. He returned in a few days and stated to the sergeant in charge that he was a brother of the young man who had just applied. He said that he was nineteen. After producing an affidavit, supposedly from his younger brother, he was admitted into the army. Willerton enlisted with the coast artillery, but later was transferred to the 26th Field Artillery and reached France in January, 1918. He fought with the 2d Division at Chateau Thierry, Soissons, Champagne, St. Mihiel and the Argonne. He was wounded in the battle at Champagne. He returned to his home in Hannibal this August.

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#### AN INTERESTING OLD LETTER.

By courtesy of Mr. Ben L. Emmons, of St. Charles, Missouri, the *Review* is permitted to reproduce the following letter, which was written to Mr. Emmons' father by Jno. A. Richey, both natives of St. Charles.

Sacramento City, Oct. 3, '50.

Friend Emmons:

We all arrived here the 26th Sept., well and much fatigued of Traveling my health has improved Since I left St. Charles. James Gallaher had a severe attack of Cholera the 1st July. We lay up with him 9 days Since he recovered of that he has improved much in health to what it was previous. We were very fortunate got through this most of our Stock and both Waggon and had sufficient provisions to last us through by allowancing ourselves the last 10 days. I presume there were near Five Thousand Emigrants Died of Cholera and Diahre—between St. Lo. Mo., and the Serrenavada Mountain. the Most of the Sickness was between the former place and South Pass. We crossed the Mo. River the 22d May at Council Bluffs and took the North Side of Platt as far as Fort Laromie and was not among the Sickness untill we got here. There has been a grate deal of Suffering among the Emigrants and I fear it is not over with yet as there is a large portion on the road yet. Some of them loosing there entire Outfit—and others getting out of Provisions Not starting with sufficient Supply Expecting they would find persons with a surpelious that they could buy from. We found Grass very Scarce many places none where the Emigrants last Season found it in abundance. I suppose there was up to the time we passed the junction of the Orrigon Road near 1000 persons changed there Coarse for Orrigon who started for this Golden Region Scared of by Sickness and Scarcity of Grass, James G. Dr. G. and Parker came falling victims to the Epidemic as the Californians termed it. The Trip has been very Manottenous to me generally So I have no curiossity in trying the Plains again. I see snow from 15th July to 25th Sept. nearly every day on Points of Mountains from 1 to 25 miles distant and the 2 days we were crossing the Serrenavada Mn., Snow Banks each side the Road from 5 to 20 feet deep. We seen very little game on the way the Company only killed 3 Boffalows and 5 or 6 Antelopes.

They expect the raining Season to set in here about the 10th next month, the weather is very warm here now. It is quite healthy there has been no Cholera this side the Serrenavada Mn. There is Hundreds of Emigrants takeing Shipping for home as soon as they get here not finding the Country as they had Pictured it out. As for my part I intend to give it a fare trial before I take Shipping. I have not been to the Mines yet but contemplate going in a few days and try my luck and when I write to you again I will be sufficiently informed to give you the particulars about Gold Diging and the Contry generally.

I have seen John S. Shaw he is here and well Mouse makes it his home here have not seen him he is out of the city at this time. Dorsey Patterson, McCausland, Glendy, Ben Wardlow is at the Mines. Alex and Aug. C. Chauvin has a Ranch 25 miles from here Yosti is trading in the Mines. Ben Orrick is at San Francisco Fulkerson is keeping store here Moses Mallarson is here and of the New Californians Garriott White, Call and Bond is at the mines Col. Cunningham's Company part of them at the Mines and part here Redmon and Beddo got here the 1st Inst., and are encamped here with us. Hilberts Company is here Glilers Company is here Keithlys are here Dr. Diffenderfer is here, Wm. Loveck is here Andrews is at the Mines Richard Overall is here In fact I believe all the St. Charldians has got in Sam Machett is at Salt Lake and contemplates returning back home.

I presume you will hear before this reaches you the Death of Lee Overall he died at Weavertown the day he got in of Infimation of the Lungs he was Sick some 2 or 3 weeks. For fear you do not I will mention the deaths. Mrs. Diffenderfer died on the Humbolt River near the Sente. Tom Williams formerly of the Point Died on the Humbolt Dessert—Ham Orrick Died at Fort Korkey about the time we passed.

Sacramento City numbers about as many buildings as St. Charles and as much Scattered they are principally Frame. There is 2 or 3 brick only nearly finished and the place is 10 or 15 times more densely populated, there is 4 churches, 1 Catholic 1 Presbyterian and 2 Methodist—North & South. I attended the Dedication of the Methodist Church South last Sunday there was about 100 Males and 10 or 15 females there this number I understand is a large church assembly here Sunday is as busy a day as any during the week but few of the business Houses suspend on account of Sunday and the Streets is crouded with Teams and Stocks. The Gambling Houses are in full Blast and persons betting hundreds on a Single Card. These Houses nearly all have a Band of Music besides a Pianno Setting near there principal Table and is the finest finished houses in the City and you will see Spanish and American Wimmen dealing Monta Farrow &c in all of them at all hours I suppose you have an Idea how matters are conducted here in this line so I will forbear entering into particulars.

I Expected when I arrived here to get a letter from you But was disappointed I am verry anctious to hear from you and Our old friends and hope to receive one Soon. Present my compliments to Miss Chauvins, Miss Charlotte and Miss Machatts and also to Miss Bell Parks and tell her that we feasted on the Fruit-Cake the 4th July on Platt River 1400 miles from St. Charles and

it was verry Delicious we saved  $\frac{1}{2}$  gal. of 4th Proof Brandy for the occasion. Tell Miss Caroline Chauvin that I drempt that her and Wm. Jenstell was married and awoke with a throbbing hart—the 26th Sept. on the Summitt of the Serrenevada Mountain the only night we camped upon the Summitt. If you see E. C. Cunningham read this letter to him all except this page and tell him I will write in a few days. Remember me to all enquiring friends and see that my interesets is well represented.

Yours Respectfully

(Signed) JNO. A. RICHEY.

P. S. In looking over I see that Redman and Beddo name is only mentioned I will say Redman is well had 2 attacks of Chollora on the Road and likes the Country purty well, Beddo looks like he was undergoing the change frome a *Human Being* to a *Smoked or dryed Herring* and is well, they boath contemplate going to the Mines tell Caroline and Leas not to be oneasy about John and Lenard, if you think propper.

(Signed) J. A. RICHEY.

#### REUNION OF FOUR CONSTITUTION MAKERS.

(From the *St. Louis Republic*.)

Macon, Mo., July 28.—While here with Gov. Gardner's party Saturday, Harry C. Turner, president of the Old Settlers' Reunion Association of Montgomery county, invited Maj. B. R. Dysart, member of the constitutional convention of 1875, to attend the annual meeting at New Florence, Saturday, August 2. Turner has also invited the other survivors of the memorable assembly. As Major Dysart recollects them the other two are Y. F. Cottey, of Knox county, and D. C. Allen of Clay county. Gov. Gardner remarked that another member, Judge Shields of the St. Louis Circuit Bench, was also in the land of the living. Turner hopes to have all four gentlemen present at his reunion. If he succeeds it will be the first time they have met in many years, and it would doubtless make a rather impressive occasion. Major B. R. Dysart is president and oldest member of the Macon Bar Association. The Major, now a few years past 80, was one of the youngest members of the Missouri Constitutional Convention in 1875.

"Talking about tinkering with the Constitution again, I see. Some fellows looking for a job. I reckon. Well, if they'll take it as cheap as we did, I won't have any kick coming," said Maj.

B. R. Dysart. "That was a time when patriotism meant personal economy. We received \$5 a day, and out of that we paid our hotel bills and all other expenses. There were no bells to ring for stenographers. Each man did his own writing, using a quill pen. In signing the final draft each member affixed his name with a quill.

#### STRONG ECONOMICAL CODE.

"The men of the Constitutional Convention were ardent in their ambition to give the State a code that would stand the test and that could be economically administered. Economy was a hobby with them. They were headset on not squandering any of the State's money needlessly. There were even objections to employing a chaplain, on the ground of expense. But Judge Thomas P. Gantt solved that question. He said William Priest of Marion county was a good old 'Hardshell' Baptist preacher, who didn't believe in salaries for preaching, and that he could do as fine job of chaplaining as any man on a regular wage, and that he'd come and pray for us. So Brother Priest was elected, and he made Judge Gantt's words good.

"When the matter of placing the word 'Creator' in the Constitution came up, Judge Gantt opposed it, because he didn't believe it was wise to drag the Deity into public affairs. He wanted church and state affairs kept separate, he said. He was outvoted on this, however, and the very first three lines of the preamble reads:

" 'We, the people of Missouri, with profound reverence for the Supreme Ruler of the Universe,' and so on."

#### BOUGHT THEIR OWN NEWSPAPERS.

"To show how strong the spirit of economy was abroad among public servants in those days, the matter of the convention's purchasing and paying for the daily papers, so as to keep tab on the proceedings, was long and earnestly discussed, and it was finally decreed that this expense should not be borne by the public funds, but by each member going down into his individual pocket and producing the cash for the paper.

"That convention made a radical change in trials for murder. Until then, if a man were convicted of murder or some degree of manslaughter, appealed and got a new trial, he could not be tried for a higher degree than the jury's verdict at the first trial. The change in the Constitution provided that the second trial should be conducted regardless of the jury's verdict the first time. There have been cases since where men were tried for murder, con-

victed in the second degree, appealed, got a new trial and were then convicted in the first degree.

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#### NEWSPAPER HAS GOLDEN JUBILEE.

*The Buffalo Reflex*, published by Phil A. Bennett, celebrated in August the fiftieth anniversary of its founding. The *Reflex* is said to be the oldest business institution today in Dallas county, having been established in 1869, just a week before the oldest store now in business there opened its doors.

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#### TWO ST. LOUIS ESTATES.

(From the *St. Louis Republic*.)

An inventory of the personal estate of John T. Milliken, who died January 31 last, was filed yesterday. It shows:

Notes—\$11,620.39.

Accounts—\$4,942.81.

Corporation Stocks—\$7,100,200.

Cash—\$15,908.69.

Chattels—\$15,993.

Memberships—\$450.

Claims—\$6,114.36.

LIBERTY BONDS—NONE.

WAR SAVINGS STAMPS—NONE.

On February 2, 1919, the inventory of the estate of another St. Louisian was filed, that of one Owen Miller by name. It showed:

Cash—\$1,800.

Chattels—\$87.50.

LIBERTY BONDS—\$5,000.

WAR SAVINGS STAMPS—\$100.

Miller, who was head of the Musicians' Union and a labor leader of prominence, served on the District Draft Board at a personal loss, made Liberty Bond speeches and otherwise interested himself in war work.

John T. Milliken made chemicals for the Government at a large profit.

## AN INVENTORY AND AN INVOCATION.

(From the *Omaha News*.)

Uncle Sam has become the world's greatest captain of industry. Here are the figures:

We have 6 per cent of the world's population.  
We own 7 per cent of the world's land.  
But we produce 70 per cent of the world's copper.  
We produce 66 per cent of the world's oil.  
We raise 60 per cent of all cotton raised.  
We produce 33 per cent of the world's silver.  
We dig 52 per cent of all coal used.  
We mine 40 per cent of iron and steel, 20 per cent of the world's gold.

We manufacture 85 per cent of all motor cars manufactured, and operate 40 per cent of the world's railroads.

We grow 25 per cent of the world's wheat.  
Before the war England was, on the surface, the richest nation in the world. At that time the United States owed 4 billion dollars to Europe.

Now Europe owes the United States 10 billion dollars.  
In two years we shall have passed England as a shipbuilder.  
All we have to do to go to the wall is to become a junker nation, with no other than material ambitions. He whom the gods would destroy they first make mad.

But let's not do that. Let's be sensible and decent and thankful that we are so fortunately situated. And let's try to make the best use of our combined wealth so that everybody will be prosperous and educated and comfortable and happy.

## JUST MISSOURIANS.

(By Miss Nellie Sneed, Exchange Department, *Kansas City Star*.)

A newcomer to this fair commonwealth writes us his impressions. We gather that he regards us as different from the people with whom he was brought up in the East. Very likely. Who wants to be monotonous?

Missourians are an incredulous folk. But their "show me" carried them through at Chateau Thierry and the Argonne. Missouri meerschaums are lightly spoken of by strangers, yet in this state they are tenderly laid on the ledge of the kitchen window the last thing at night and taken up the first thing in the morning.

Natives have to protest that hound dogs and mules are not the only live stock that the state produces. Like the Bostonian, a shibboleth, marks them. Their sons and daughters pronounce "Missouri" with a distinct "Ah" on the last syllable. Our neighbors give the word a long lazy inflection—in keeping with their idea of us—"Missouree," and the dictionaries uphold them. Outside the state all our shortcomings are summed up and accounted for under that one word, "Missourian." Yet that title convicts of nothing in the eyes of the law, and at times it has ventured into the presence of kings and walked away decorated with crosses and honors.

The old time neighbors say that it is when they are away from home they have felt the criticism. Go into Chicago and announce that you are from Missouri; your hearers exchange significant but harmless glances; in Philadelphia they take a deep breath and talk about the weather; in Boston they look you over carefully and leave the room. Many Missourians say confidentially that they learn a strange hesitancy about mentioning their native state. One man admitted that when registering at a hotel he rolled the curves of that noble abbreviation, "Mo.," into something that looked like "Ohio" or could not be read at all. However, a kind old gentleman met him in the lobby and frankly asked him where he lived. He confessed. Clearly the old gentleman was disappointed, but he brightened up a little, however, and remarked, "At least you are not from Arkansas."

Yet every one of Missouri's sons and daughters loves the old state and only the uninitiated can hold such views.

Politically Missouri has a most advantageous situation. An enthusiasm for Dixie or a reverence for a Grand Army post will not cost a political plum. You may express the warmest admiration for the old South and be sure of the sincerest sympathy of your hearers. This same audience will cheer a performance of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" with equal sincerity. Missourians are not fickle—they are not dishonest. By right of birth they have broad sympathies and real associations for both sides of the question. If you live beside them you must have a ready sympathy one way or the other and express it. Missourians do not care which side you choose, but they do insist that you show your colors. For forty years Republicans cheerfully voted and lost their candidates, but not the respect of their neighbors. Now the Democrats are giving up their prestige. It all comes about like a neighborhood wedding.

"Flowers to the living," is a Missouri sentiment. In proof of it Missourians showered them on Mark Twain and they intend to

see that Sara Teasdale, Fanny Hurst and the rest get a few blossoms while they are still on earth. Laclede is only expressing an affectionate loyalty when she points out seven domiciles all claiming the honor and title of "the birthplace of our John Pershing." General Price and Colonel Doniphan, Carl Schurz and Frank Blair all have places in our annals. "We are queer folks and we are proud of it," said a famous Missourian in explaining himself to a Kansas celebrity.

In spite of all the gaff and near slander that has clouded, or shall we not say in some cases haloed, the fair title of "Missourian," there is a time when he comes into his own. Positively he is the only prophet "that has honor in his own country." The new residents of the community come expecting to find curious reports true. Strangers meet new neighbors with no marked enthusiasm—rather with a curiosity which says: "Are you a 'Shepherd of the Hills' character or one of the transplanted 'First Families of Virginia'?" "Thank you, we have thousands of both.

Living within the borders of the state the stranger finds many foibles "true as reported," among a people who practice every day kindness with a simplicity of manner and a sincerity of good will. Without boasting the Missourians may say of their new neighbors, "Those who came to scoff remained to pray." It is a great commonwealth, largely inhabited by those who are proud of the title, "just Missourians."

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#### MISSOURI ON THE MEXICAN BORDER.

Under the auspices of the Adjutant General's department of the State of Missouri, the following valuable work has been published, *The Service of Missouri National Guard on the Mexican Border, Under the President's Order June 18, 1916*. This is the first of a series of *Missouri Military Reports*, a publication sponsored by Adjutant General H. C. Clark, of Jefferson City. The work has been carefully planned and is most creditable to its author. Following a historical introduction, is a roster of the National Guard of Missouri in service on the Mexican Border in 1916. The work contains 531 pages, of which forty-three are devoted to a careful index of men listed in the roster. Missouri is about to make amends for her past neglect in not having published the records of

her men who served on the field of battle. Adjutant General Clark is responsible for the awakening of interest on these lines. He is planning to cover the field in a similar manner relating to the war of 1812, the Spanish-American War, and the service of Missouri boys in the recent struggle. When this has been accomplished Missourians will then be able to obtain accurate information relating to the men who have served in defense of the Nation.

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HOW MISSOURI SECURED HER COAT OF ARMS AND WHERE  
IT WAS FOR YEARS.

(From the *Kansas City Post*.)

Not many persons know just where Missouri secured her coat of arms or that it was designed in Howard county. When Missouri was admitted into the Union the powers were then required to select a man—"an honest man, a man of great learning"—to get up a device and motto for the state of Missouri.

George Burekhardt was chosen for that work. He was chosen because he was honest, because he was wise and because he was learned, he being one of the best educated men of our then infant state. Mr. Burekhardt took the matter under advisement, and after spending much time and labor, produced the device of the crescent, the bears and the bee-hive, with the motto, "Salus Populi Suprema Lex Esto." And it was adopted as the official state seal.

It was made into a great seal and the original was supposed to have been lost for years. When Claiborne F. Jackson was governor he issued a proclamation declaring Missouri out of the union, left the state capital to escape capture by federal troops and took with him the great seal. That was the original, not the facsimile used in the press to stamp public documents. It had been kept under lock and key in the office of the secretary of state. Governor Jackson died in 1862 and was succeeded by Thomas C. Reynolds, the lieutenant governor. Four years after the close of the war the seal came to light. It was in possession of Governor Reynolds, then a resident of St. Louis. It was suggested to him that he should return it to the state.

"I will return it," replied the governor, "whenever Missouri has a governor legally elected at the polls." No persuasion could move him. When Joseph W. McClurg, Republican, was elected

governor in 1868, defeating John S. Phelps, the Democratic nominee, Governor Reynolds decided to return the great seal. The seal has been in use ever since and is now in charge of John L. Sullivan, secretary of State.

George Burekhart, designer of the Missouri coat of arms, was the father of Judge Burekhart, formerly circuit judge of the Ninth Judicial Circuit, which then comprised the counties of Randolph, Howard, Boone and Callaway. He was also a brother to Nicholas S. Burekhart, who was the first sheriff of Howard county, and a great uncle of Mrs. Talbot, wife of Col. John Talbot, a prominent citizen of Fayette. He was also a great uncle of Henry T. Burekhart, formerly editor and owner of the Fayette Advertiser. Silas Burekhart was sheriff in 1816, when Howard, the mother of counties, extended to Saint Charles. The handwriting of the pioneer sheriff is plainly readable on the records preserved in the courthouse at Fayette today.

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#### VARIED INDUSTRIES OF ST. LOUIS.

(From *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*.)

Anyone who may feel pessimistic as to the business future of St. Louis and is not convinced by the signs of activity and demonstrations of optimism about him, should ponder the portion of the annual statement of St. Louis trade and commerce prepared for the Merchants' Exchange which deals with our varied industries. War restrictions on fuel, raw material, labor and shipping handicapped a few of the industries, but the volume of business in nearly all lines in 1918 was larger than ever before, both in quantity and value. Anyone inclined to think this a city of one or two industries should survey the report. In many respects St. Louis leads the world, and it captured new honors in 1918. Its only large industry to suffer was brewing, and the manufacture of soft drinks will mitigate that. Some of the smaller industries, originally dependent on brewing, have already found new customers.

St. Louis leads the world in the manufacture and distribution of shoes, making a better grade and a greater quantity than ever before, and 75 per cent of all handled here were made here. The employes number 100,000 and the business amounted to \$130,000,000. As the largest manufacturing point for tobacco and cigars a business of \$110,000,000 was done. As the chief city in manufacturing of railroad and street cars, St. Louis built \$25,000,000 worth of freight cars for the United States and \$5,000,000 for France. As the world's first manufacturing and wholesale drug

center, with the largest wholesale drug house in the world, and several internationally famed chemists, a business of \$37,500,000 was done in drugs and chemicals. With the largest hardware house in the world and lively competitors, the sales of "straight hardware" amounted to \$93,250,000. With an identical situation as to woodenware, the business amounted to \$33,000,000. As the largest fur market in the world, a business of \$20,000,000 was done. Cast iron and foundry products for the year amounted to \$75,000,000, while the meat packing business was \$40,000,000. Horse-drawn vehicles to the value of over \$20,000,000 were sold here, this being the center of manufacture. The city also leads the world in the manufacture of stoves and ranges, with a business of \$16,000,000 last year. St. Louis is headquarters of the world's largest candy company, and the confectionery business amounted to \$10,000,000 in spite of Mr. Hoover. St. Louis is rapidly establishing a reputation for the manufacture of men's clothing and hats and caps. The hat and cap business here last year amounted to over \$10,000,000. The trunk and valise and the carpet and rug business each approximated that record.

The wholesale dry goods record stands at the top, compared with other lines or with its own past, with a total of \$200,000,000. Millinery, in spite of the national campaign for economy and conservation and the quiet war styles, sold to the amount of \$17,500,000. The growth in these lines is significant, for it is common knowledge that one great wholesale house draws another, just as it is the tendency of industries to flock. Recent reports from this industrial district of new enterprises illustrates this. St. Louis is very fortunate, consequently, in already leading in such a great variety of industries and in the demonstration of their prosperity. It points to an expansion of their business and to the coming of new concerns. What we did in 1918 ought to be more than duplicated this year, and the growth of the city's population and prosperity should be at an unprecedented rate.

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#### PALMYRA CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION.

Beginning on July 21st and lasting six days, the city of Palmyra, Missouri, observed her One Hundredth Birthday with a week of celebration exercises. The first day of "Home Coming Week" was called "Get-Together Day;" the second was "Pageant Day;" the other days were "Carnival Day,"

"Military Day," "Old Settlers' Day and Old-Fashioned Basket Picnic Day," and "Automobile Day." Distinguished citizens of the State delivered addresses to the thousands of visitors. The Centennial Committee was composed of: F. W. Smith, Chairman; Mrs. H. Clay Heather and Miss Alma Lane. During the week a subscription list was started to build a memorial hall in honor of the Marion county lads who fought overseas.

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#### PERSHING GIVEN OXFORD HONORARY DEGREE.

General John J. Pershing was honored on June 25th by Oxford University, England, with a degree of Doctor of Civil Law. The other representative of the United States to be so honored was Herbert C. Hoover.

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#### AMERICAN RANK OF GENERAL.

(From *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*.)

The permanent rank of general of the army in the United States is a rare distinction, considered as the highest honor in the gift of Congress. In usual times the chief of staff is the highest military authority under the President and the Secretary of War. Major Generals Pershing, Bliss and March were made generals during the war, not in accordance with tradition, but in order that they might be less embarrassed in relations with the commanders of the associate armies, bearing high rank. But the House has authorized the appointment of Gen. Pershing to the permanent rank of general, and the Senate speedily concurred.

When there was prospect of a war with France in the administration of John Adams the President asked Washington to head an army. He consented, with the condition that Hamilton and Knox, in that order, should be his immediate subordinates. The preference given Hamilton incensed some of Washington's old generals, who commanded forces while Hamilton was aid-de-camp. But Washington had his way and the rank of lieutenant general was created for him May 28, 1798, and on July 3 following the Senate unanimously consented to Washington's appointment, made in a special message from President Adams. But on the day

before adjournment of the short session of the same Congress, March 3, 1799, the office and title of lieutenant general were abolished and the rank of general of the armies of the United States created. Washington died within a few days after the next regular session of Congress met, and there has been much dispute as to whether he was ever technically a general.

Winfield Scott was made a brevet lieutenant general under a resolution of Congress, passed February 15, 1855. He drew only a major general's pay and commanded only under special assignment by the President. The rank and title of lieutenant general were revived in the civil war and conferred on Grant, March 2, 1864. It was not until after the war, on July 25, 1866, that the grade of general was created and conferred by Congress on Grant. Sherman at the same time was made lieutenant general and assigned to command of the Department of the Missouri. Grant scorned the proposal to abolish the rank of general during his term as President, so that it might be revived and conferred upon him again after his retirement. He insisted that Sherman merited the grade. Sherman was thereafter a general until his death, with Sheridan as lieutenant general. Sheridan was made general under the act of Congress, June 1, 1888. He was the last general in peace times. Nelson A. Miles was the last lieutenant general in peace times.

How chary Congress has been in conferring such ranks may be inferred from the fact that after General Garfield went to Congress from the army he opposed making Grant lieutenant general, in spite of his great abilities. General Pershing of Missouri, consequently, has received the highest distinction known to his profession in this country.

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#### PERSONAL.

Hon. W. J. Fleming: Born in Ireland in 1871; died at Monett, Missouri, June 13, 1919. He came to America when seventeen years of age and settled at St. Louis. In 1878 he moved to Monett and was there engaged in various businesses. He was a member of the Democratic State Committee and a former mayor of Monett.

George W. Fuller: Born in Henderson county, Illinois, in 1846; died at Kansas City, Missouri, May 10, 1919. His early life was spent on the farm and in April, 1864, he enlisted

in the 139th Illinois Infantry and served until October, 1865. He came to Kansas City in 1869 and became interested in various business enterprises. He was one of the organizers of the Fidelity Trust Company and at the time of his death was vice-president of the Fidelity Savings Trust Company. He was prominent in the civic affairs of Kansas City and was at various times a member of the park board, trustee of the Y. M. C. A. and a director of the Helping Hand Institute. He was one of the nine organizers of the old Commercial Club, now known as the Chamber of Commerce, and served as president of the organization in 1894-5.

Judge Turner A. Gill: Born in Bath county, Kentucky, in 1841; died at Los Angeles, California, July 18, 1919. He moved with his parents to Missouri in 1854. He was attending the University of Missouri at the outbreak of the Civil War and left school to enlist in the Confederate Army. At the close of the war he entered the University of Kentucky and was graduated from that institution in 1868. The following year he came to Kansas City and was admitted to the bar. In 1875 he was elected mayor of Kansas City and served until 1877. He was city counselor from 1879 to 1880. In July, 1880, he was appointed judge of the 24th judicial circuit and was elected to that position the following November and re-elected in 1886. Two years later he became a judge of the Kansas City Court of Appeals. In 1901 he retired and, after a few years of private practice, moved to California.

Prof. James Hutchison Kerr: Born at Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, August 30, 1837; died at Colorado Springs, June 9, 1919. Prof. Kerr began his teaching career at the age of fourteen in the local rural school at Chambersburg. At nineteen he was assistant engineer of the Pennsylvania Railroad and even before he entered Yale University, from which institution he was graduated in 1865, he had obtained a practical knowledge of geology which ranked him among the foremost geologists of his day. He came to Missouri in 1865, and was made principal of Jackson Academy, then one of the most important schools in the west. He established the

Fruitland Normal College and later was prominent in organizing and managing more than two hundred teachers institutes between St. Louis and the Gulf of Mexico. He went to Colorado for his health in 1875 and there became president of Colorado College and later a member of the faculty. He traveled all over the world as a consulting geologist and won many high honors and distinctions.

Hon. A. L. Kirby: Born in Howard county, Missouri, June 21, 1863; died at Fayette, Missouri, May 8, 1919. He was educated in the public schools of Howard county and for several years taught school. He represented Howard county in the State Legislature four years, was deputy recorder of Howard county for eight years and recorder for eight years. He was enrolling clerk of the senate during the last general assembly.

J. A. Leach: Born in Negah, Ireland, May 8, 1843; died at Denver, Colorado, June 26, 1919. He came with his parents to America when only three months old and grew into young manhood in New York City. He enlisted in the Union Army at the age of eighteen at the outbreak of the Civil War and served throughout the war. In December, 1873, Mr. Leach conceived the idea of the organization of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen. He and eleven other men accomplished this organization which today has grown to 116,000 members.

Thomas J. Lingle: Born in Benton county, Missouri, January 8, 1846; died at Clinton, Missouri, May 30, 1919. He learned the printing trade as a boy and in August, 1864, with a brother as partner, established the *Sedalia Advertiser*, the first regularly issued paper in that city. This paper was sold and in 1866 they began the publication of the *Independent Press*, which was destroyed by fire in 1867. After several years of farm life, he and his brother again entered the newspaper field, this time at Windsor, calling the paper the *Windsor Courier*. Later in life he was connected with the *Sedalia Democrat*, Clinton, *Henry County Democrat*, *Clinton Tribune* and the *Sedalia Sentinel*.

Hon. John F. Morton: Born at New Orleans, Louisiana, March 6, 1862; died at Excelsior Springs, Missouri, August 19, 1919. He entered politics in Ray county in 1881 and held successively the offices of deputy circuit clerk, city attorney of Richmond and secretary of the Democratic Congressional Committee. He was elected to the State Legislature in 1887 from Ray county, re-elected in 1889 and became speaker pro tem of the house. In 1894 he was elected State Senator from the eighth senatorial district and was later re-elected for two succeeding terms. In 1914 he was elected for a fourth term as senator.

Hon. Edward T. Orear: Born at St. Charles, Missouri, in 1855; died at Sweet Springs, Missouri, June 22, 1919. Early in life he moved to Saline county where his father and grandfather founded the town of Orearville, near Marshall. He was educated in the public schools at Marshall and the University of Missouri. He began his political career by serving two terms as circuit clerk of Saline county and was later chief clerk for seven years in the office of State Treasurer Lon V. Stephens. From 1900 to 1905 he was state insurance commissioner. He was one of the founders of the Gate City Bank in Kansas City in 1909, and was later closely identified with other large business ventures in that city. He was comptroller of Kansas City at the time of his death.

Mason Talbutt: Born at Greenfield, Missouri, October 6, 1847; died at Greenfield, June 26, 1919. He was educated in Greenfield and before he reached his eighteenth year enlisted in the Union Army and served until the end of the war. Soon after the war he bought the *Greenfield Vedette*, succeeding John W. Davis as its editor. He sold this paper and in 1877 founded the *Dade County Advocate*, of which he was editor and publisher until 1888. He was elected presiding judge of the Dade County Court in 1882 and served four years. Upon his retirement from this office he devoted his time to the practice of law.

Hon. Clark Wix: Born in Bates county, Missouri, February 5, 1850; died at Kansas City, Missouri, June 29,

1919. He grew to manhood in Bates county and became an active, progressive citizen. He was postmaster at Butler for several years and served one term as county judge. He represented the sixteenth senatorial district in the Fiftieth General Assembly.

## HISTORICAL ARTICLES IN MISSOURI NEWSPAPERS.

AUGUST, 1918-APRIL, 1919, INCLUSIVE.

Adair County. Braashear, *News*

Jan. 24. Missouri's first newspaper—Short history on *Missouri Intelligence*; reprinted from the *Kansas City Star*.  
Kirksville, *Journal*.

Sept. 12. Sketch of the life of Dr. A. P. Williard, pioneer physician.

Atchison County. Rock Port, *Atchison County Mail*

Sept. 13. Sketch of the life of H. F. Stapel, pioneer newspaper man and former State legislator. See also Tarkio *Assaults*, September 13; Rock Port, *Atchison County Journal*, September 13; *Fairfax Forum*, September 20.

Audrain County. Mexico, *Weekly Intelligence*

March 6. Mexico old settler recalls day when city issued money.

August 19. *Weekly Ledger*

Sketch of the life of A. B. Cluster, pioneer lawyer and former county official.

Sept. 19. Descendant of Daniel Boone tells story of early days.

Oct. 3. Sketch of the life of George Kabrich, pioneer merchant of Mexico.

Oct. 17. Sketch of the life of W. C. Drake, Confederate veteran. See also Mexico *Weekly Intelligence* for Oct. 17.

Oct. 24. Sketch of the life of William I. Paul, Confederate veteran.

Oct. 31. In memory of a famous land mark familiar to many, now gone—Reminiscences of Hickman's Mill at Florida, Missouri.

Aug. 29. *Missouri Message*

Sketch of the life of A. B. Cluster, pioneer citizen and former county official.

Vandalia, *Leader*

Aug. 9. Missouri's history a story of strength—historical sketch by Rev. Almer Pennewell.

Nov. 15. Reminiscent—Two well-known Audrain County men recall other days.

Dec. 12. *Mail*

Sketch of General John J. Pershing.

Bates County. Butler, *Bates County Democrat*

Sept. 12. Old time war letter, written by a Confederate soldier serving in Georgia in 1864 to brother serving in Mississippi.

# HISTORICAL ARTICLES IN MISSOURI NEWSPAPERS. 173

- Jan. 23. Oak Hill Cemetery—A brief history of Butler's beautiful burial ground.
- Feb. 27. Missouri's great seal—some historical incidents.
- April 17. The Kansas Redlegs—A story of the year (1874) when Missouri was visited by grasshoppers.

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- Feb. 28. Only picture of old Butler Academy, destroyed by fire in 1900.

## Bollinger County. Lutesville, *Banner*

- Aug. 8. The old military road, a few facts about Jackson-Greenville road.

## Boone County. Centralia, *Fireman's Guard*

- March 14. Our first railroad; an account of the building of the old North Missouri Railroad in Boone County in 1853-58.
- March 21. Early railroads—the Louisiana and Missouri River Route project of 1868.
- March 28. Early railroads—History of Centralia-Columbia branch.

## Columbia, *Evening Missourian*

- Nov. 22. Bogus program carries old grad back to '73. Some reminiscences of University life at that time.
- Nov. 30. University rules more strict in days of yore.
- Dec. 13. Finds old volumes on Missouri literature. A review of old publication on Missouri's Famous Sons.
- Dec. 23. About the man who made selective draft possible. A sketch of Enoch H. Crowder; reprinted from *Detroit News*.
- Jan. 11. Sketch of the life of Roswell M. Field, Missouri author.
- Jan. 15. Sketch of the life of Dr. W. T. Lenoir, pioneer physician of Boone County.
- Jan. 15. West's first newspaper—sketch of the *Missouri Intelligencer*. Reprinted from the *Kansas City Star*.
- Jan. 28. Seventy years a Columbian—an extensive review of the life of E. W. Stephens. See also the *Evening Missourian* for January 29, and the *Columbia Tribune* for January 28 and 29.
- Feb. 1. Food Administration at end in Missouri—a summary of the Administration's war work.
- Feb. 6. Do you know people of fame in Missouri? Facts about Missourians as related in Shoemaker's "Missouri's Hall of Fame."
- March 18. Council records show many freak ordinances; sidelights on city council's problems in former days.

## \_\_\_\_\_, *Herald-Statesman*

- Jan. 2. Crowder and the draft. A character sketch of the general, reprinted from the *Detroit News*.
- Feb. 13. Old Gordon Mansion is 100 years old—a short sketch. See also the *Evening Missourian* for February 14.
- Feb. 20. Traces history of Capitol; a review of an article by Dr. Jonas Viles in the *Missouri Historical Review*. See also the *Evening Missourian* for February 17.
- March 17. Sketch of the life of Judge John F. Phillips. See also the *Evening Missourian* for March 14.

Buchanan County. *St. Joseph, Gazette*

- Dec. 1. Christian Church dedication today; with some historical data.  
 Jan. 1. Industrial and general review of St. Joseph, 1918.  
 Old time printers and printing in St. Joseph.  
 Jan. 5. General Pershing lives simple life; a description of his daily life in France.  
 March 2. Gazette ads of pioneer days mirror St. Joe of past; miscellaneous announcements from *Gazette* files of 1851.  
 March 9. St. Joe as she was back in 1848—random reminiscences.  
 March 16. Will be third welcome to victorious sons; St. Joseph's part in Mexican, Civil, Spanish and Great Wars.  
 March 18. Sketch of the life of Hon. Truman S. Powell, state legislator and original of "Shepherd of the Hills."  
 March 23. What do you know about Joe Robidoux? Story of city's founder, with photograph.  
 April 6. Our historic courthouse; sketch of Buchanan County courthouse.  
 April 13. General Jeff Thompson, the "Swamp Fox;" sketch of noted Civil War figure, with photograph.  
 April 20. First county fair here an epoch—held in 1854.  
 April 27. A fragrant romance of the past; a love story of 1861.

*News Press*

- Dec. 24. Good old days gone; St. Joseph man relates story of "Wild Bill" Hickok, town marshal at Abilene, Kansas, in the '70's.  
 Jan. 22. Sketch of the life of Obadiah Craig, pioneer business man.  
 March 24. Sketch of the life of Eugene H. Spratt, former county official.  
 April 18. Sketch of the life of Louis Strekebein, pioneer citizen and Union veteran.

*Observer*

- Aug. 10. "Make a road that will stand 50 years"—Recollections of Mark Twain and Missouri railroads of 60 years ago, by John Pierson.  
 March 1. Sketch of the life of W. T. Davis, pioneer citizen and Union veteran.  
 March 22. Sketch of the life of Judge John F. Phillips, late federal judge for the western district of Missouri.

Callaway County. *Fulton, Telegraph*

- Sept. 27. Descendant of Daniel Boone—stories of pioneer as related by great grandson.  
 Jan. 10. Sketch of the life of Judge Robert McPheeters, pioneer lawyer and former county official. See also *Fulton Gazette* for January 9.

*Gazette*

- Aug. 29. Church nearly century old—Some statistics concerning Miller's Creek Methodist Church in Callaway County.  
 Jan. 30. History of Callaway County courthouse.  
 March 13. Fulton man an Indian trader; F. O. Collins tells how he ran trading post at Nohart, Nebraska, about thirty years ago.

Cape Girardeau County. *Cape Girardeau, Southeast Missourian*

- Aug. 2. John Pershing—Native Missourian. A sketch by A. A. Jeffrey. Reprinted from the *Missouri Ruralist*.

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- Weekly Tribune*
- Nov. 22. Judge Schaefer was once hazed by General Pershing. A sidelight on Pershing's life at West Point.
- Dec. 8. Giboney Mansion a century old—some facts.
- March 21. "He was a true Missourian;" sketch of Judge John F. Phillips.
- 
- Jackson, Missouri Cash-Book*
- Jan. 16. Back to the early days. Historical notes from copy of Jackson, *Independent Patriot*, of date August 11, 1821, Volume 1, Number 38.
- Carroll County. *Carrollton, Democrat*
- Sept. 27. Sketch of the life of A. H. Cooley, Union veteran.
- Dec. 27. Sketch of the life of E. J. Rea, Confederate veteran and pioneer banker. See also *Carrollton Republican Record* for December 26.
- April 18. Sketch of the life of Judge Frank P. Diveibias, judge of the Seventh Judicial Circuit of Missouri.
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- Republican Record*
- Dec. 5. Picturesque pioneer character gone. Reminiscences of Edward L. Fisher of DeWitt, Missouri, Union veteran.
- Feb. 13. "Proud of courthouse"—A short sketch, with photograph.
- Feb. 20. Deserted villages; early town sites of Carroll County. Carrollton's first postoffice; photo of log structure which housed first postoffice.
- March 27. *Republican-Record* is 51 years old; a short history of paper.
- Cass County. *Harrisonville, Cass County Democrat*
- Nov. 21. He saw the Isaacs hanging—tragedy of Harrisonville in 1879. Letter of Civil War times—written from an army camp by Thomas R. Patton, to his wife, Mrs. Helen M. Patton, under date of April 16, 1865.
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- Cass County Leader*
- Nov. 21. Sketch of the life of Thomas J. Coulter, former county official and Confederate veteran.
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- Pleasant Hill, Times*
- Aug. 16. 56 years today—The story of the battle of Lone Jack, a minor struggle of the Civil War.
- Oct. 25. Sketch of the life of Benjamin Jones, Union veteran.
- Nov. 23. Sketch of the life of William Miller, Union veteran.
- Jan. 31. Colonel H. M. Bledsoe. Something of the career of the noted Missouri artillerymen.
- April 4. Early Cass County criminals; continued in issues of April 18 and 25.
- April 11. Some Lee's Summit history.
- Chariton County. *Salisbury, Press-Spectator*
- Nov. 8. A scrap of early history. A description of a Salisbury township school in 1857.
- March 7. History of great seal of the State of Missouri.

Christian County. *Ozark, Christian County Republican*

- Sept. 13. Sketch of the life of Henry F. Davis, pioneer citizen, Union veteran and former county official.

Clark County. *Kahoka, Clark County Courier*

- Oct. 4. Chapters of Clark County history—notes on Clark County in an early day.  
 Nov. 22. Chapters of Clark County history—Random reminiscences.  
 Jan. 10. Comparative census figures, 1840 to date.

\_\_\_\_\_, *Gazette-Herald*

- Aug. 2. Chapters of Clark County history—Historical notes on Clark County. Continued in issues of August 9, 16, 30; September 6, 13, 20 and October 25.  
 Nov. 1. Chapters of Clark County History—Random reminiscences of early days in Clark County. See also issues of November 8, 22, 29; December 6, 13, 20, 27; January 3, 10, 17, 24, 31.  
 Jan. 31. Jenkins writes of former days in Clark County.  
 Feb. 7. Chapters of Clark County history—Decline of river traffic.  
 Feb. 14. Schools of 50 years ago.  
 Jenkins writes of old St. Francisville.  
 March 7. History of Athens, Clark County.  
 Jenkins writes of former days; random reminiscences of pioneer life.  
 March 14. Editor Murphy writes of Athens.  
 March 21. Peril of navigation on the Mississippi in early days.  
 March 28. Early ideas about draining the flood plain of the Des Moines and the Mississippi.  
 April 4. Coming from Knox County to Clark County in 1861.  
 April 11. Local scenes around Kahoka in 1861.  
 Anniversary of "East Mall Day" in west; historical notes.  
 April 18. Life in Clay Township in 1861-62.  
 April 25. A year on the prairies of Clay Township (1861).

Clay County. *Liberty, Advance*

- Jan. 17. Clay County Volunteers—a list of men who have been in military service whose names do not appear on record of local draft board.  
 April 18. Sketch of the Life of Judge Frank P. Divilbiss. See also *Liberty Tribune* for April 18.

\_\_\_\_\_, *Tribune*

- Aug. 16. Recalls Barry murder—Recollections of speech delivered by Col. A. W. Doniphan in defense of one Marshall, charged with murder.  
 Jan. 3. Clay County Indian trails; article by Edgar Archer on early habitation of the county by red men.  
 Feb. 22. Constitution of 1875. Partial roll of members of convention and some notes of earlier conventions.  
 April 11. The Senator Vest dog case; story of the suit and the speech.

Clinton County. *Platteburg, Leader*

- Aug. 9. Some Baptist history—Data concerning the Baptist Churches of Clinton County, by Rev. G. A. Puckett.

Cole County. Jefferson City, *Cole County Rustler*

- April 18. Tells of navigation on the Osage River during the '60's.

\_\_\_\_\_, *Missouri School Journal*

- Sept. 1918. The Significance of Missouri in Our National History, by Prof. E. M. Violette of the Northeast Missouri Teachers College.
- Oct. 1918. The Colonial Period of Missouri History, by Prof. Violette.
- Nov. 1918. Missouri's Struggle for Statehood, by Floyd C. Shoemaker, Secretary of the State Historical Society of Missouri.
- Dec. 1918. Books Easily Available for the Study of the History of Missouri, by Miss Lucy Simmons of the Northeast Missouri State Teachers College.
- Jan. 1919. Missouri politics from 1820 to 1860, by Prof. H. C. McClure of the Central Missouri State Teachers College.
- Feb. 1919. Missouri's Constitution of 1875; wherein it is out-of-date, by Floyd C. Shoemaker.
- Feb. 1919. Economic conditions in Missouri from 1821 to 1861, by Prof. F. F. Stephens of the University of Missouri.
- Mar. 1919. Political history of Missouri, 1860-65, by Prof. Jonas Viles of the University of Missouri.
- April 1919. The significance of certain military operations in Missouri during the Civil War, by Prof. R. S. Douglas of the Southeast Missouri State Teachers College.

\_\_\_\_\_, *Mosby's Missouri Message*.

- Nov. 1. Missourians you have known. Anecdotes of famous Missourians. See all succeeding issues.

Cooper County. Boonville, *Weekly Advertiser*

- Aug. 2. Sketch of the life of Col. J. A. Howard, Confederate veteran who served under General Sterling Price.
- March 7. Civil War reminiscences—Capture of Col. Alexander and his recruits on Blackwater in 1861.
- March 14. Shaft for pioneer paper; historical notes on the *Missouri Intelligencer*.

\_\_\_\_\_, *Central Missourian Republican*

- Aug. 22. A Missourian in Philadelphia—With some Civil War recollections of Charles C. Bell.
- April 24. County records now over a century old—Record dated April 12, 1819, representing the authority for the first recorder of Cooper County for holding office.

\_\_\_\_\_, *Bunceton, Eagle*

- Feb. 7. Cooper County history, by Frank R. Chambers. Continued in issues of February 21, 28 and April 4.

Dade County. Greenfield, *Dade County Advocate*

- Aug. 1. William R. Bowles, the man—Character sketch of the former publisher of the *Dade County Advocate*.

\_\_\_\_\_, *Lockwood, Luminary*

- Oct. 25. Sketch of the life of George Dodd, Union veteran.

- Dallas County. *Buffalo, Record*  
Sketch of the life of Hon. J. P. O'Bannon, former county official and State senator. See also the *Buffalo Reflex* for April 17.
- Davies County. *Gallatin, Democrat*  
Oct. 16. Grand River College went up in smoke—With a short historical sketch.  
Feb. 20. Mormon history and settlement, by E. H. Dunlap.
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- Winston, *Sentinel*  
March 20. Old frontiersman and new.
- DeKalb County. *Maysville, Pilot*  
April 30. Sketch of the life of W. H. Harrison, Missouri editor for 17 years.
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- Stewartsville, *Record*  
Feb. 20. 63 years ago; account of a visit to Stewartsville in 1856.
- Dunklin County. *Kennett, Dunklin Democrat*  
Sept. 13. Tells of Clarkton's old church and schoolhouse.  
April 25. Former newspaper man writes of olden days. See also the *Dunklin County News* for April 25.
- Franklin County. *New Haven, Leader*  
Nov. 21. Postmasters of Franklin County in 1868.
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- Sullivan, *News*  
Some prices in 1846; report of an auction sale held in Macon County, Missouri; reprinted from the *Kansas City Star*.
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- Union, *Franklin County Tribune*  
Nov. 20. Evangelical Lutheran Church; organization from 1843 to 1918.
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- \_\_\_\_\_, *Republican Headlight*  
Sept. 6. Sketch of the life of Richard T. Booth, former county and State official.  
Dec. 6. First hundred years of Franklin County. Some historical data.
- 
- Washington, *Citizen*  
Sketch of the life of Robert Hoffman, former county official and first mayor of Washington.
- Gasconade County. *Bland, Courier*  
Oct. 18. Sketch of the life of Charles McDonald Matthews, former county and State official and Union veteran. See also *Hermann Advertiser-Courier* Oct. 9; *Owensville Gasconade County Republican* October 11.
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- Hermann, *Advertiser-Courier*  
Sept. 4. Sketch of the life of Balthasar Schindler, Union veteran.

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- Owensville, *Gasconade County Republican*  
 Jan. 31. History of Co. E, 352nd Inf., A. E. F., by Private George W. Tappmeyer.
- Gentry County. Albany, *Capital*  
 Sept. 12. Sketch of the life of James E. Monger, Union veteran.  
 Sept. 19. Sketch of the life of Edward Miles McLeod, Union veteran.
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- King City, *Chronicle*  
 Sketch of the life of Benjamin L. Ramey, Union veteran.
- Greene County. Springfield, *Leader*  
 Nov. 24. Sketch of the life of Thomas A. Sherwood, former judge of the Supreme Court of Missouri. See also issue of November 27.  
 Dec. 8. Greene County's notable part in great struggle. A brief summary of war activities.  
 Dec. 12. Welcome for Pershing recalls old incident. Recollection of the reception accorded to Col. Alexander Doniphan upon his return from Mexico in 1847.  
 Dec. 20. Old copper mines in Missouri will be worked again—with some history.  
 Dec. 24. Col. S. W. Fordyce, who has lived history. Recollections of Civil War, Senator Vest, President McKinley, etc.  
 Jan. 19. Dr. Samuel S. Laws—A sketch of former president of State University.  
 Jan. 28. Personal recollections of the battle of Springfield, January 8, 1863, by Dr. M. T. Chastain of Marshall.  
 March 13. Sketch of the life of Judge John F. Phillips. See also issues of March 16 and 17.  
 March 15. Recalls great plague of the 17-year locust in 1854.  
 April 27. Anniversary (108th) of Presbyterianism to be observed. Early history of church.
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- Greene County, *Republican*  
 Jan. 1. Greene County's centennial—Some history. Continued in issue of January 7.  
 Jan. 19. Osage Indians, one time inhabitants of Ozark region, described in detail by E. M. Shepard.
- Harrison County. Cainesville, *News*  
 Feb. 20. Why Oxfords quit business; short history of one of oldest business houses in Harrison County—founded in 1874.
- Henry County. Windsor, *Review*  
 Nov. 21. Sketch of the life of Wm. H. Walker, founder of the *Review* in 1876.
- Holt County. Oregon, *Holt County Sentinel*  
 July 26. Holt County Pioneers—Short biography of Gideon Kunkel, Sr., with good description of pioneer conditions.  
 Aug. 23. Sketch of the life of Phillip Killmer, Union veteran.  
 Nov. 8. Sketch of the life of J. H. Nies, Union veteran.

Howard County. *Glasgow, Missourian*

- Nov. 21. Glasgow's historic bronze cannon; some facts of historical interest concerning relic of Civil War.

Fayette, *Advertiser*

- Aug. 14. Says Patton did not found first newspaper—Some data presented by Mrs. Frank M. Korn of El Reno, Oklahoma, in attempt to establish that Benjamin Holliday, and not Nathaniel Patton, established the first weekly newspaper west of St. Louis.
- Jan. 16. Missouri's first paper founded in Howard County; an account of the *Missouri Intelligencer* reprinted from the *Kansas City Star*.
- Feb. 13. It was Nathaniel Patton—Facts concerning founding of the *Missouri Intelligencer*.

Howell County. *West Plains, Howell County Gazette*

- Dec. 19. A rich copper strike—with history of Joseph Slater mine, 1830-65.
- March 20. Sketch of the life of Philip S. Delmick, scout under General Custer in the Indian wars.

Jackson County. *Kansas City, Star*

- Aug. 6. When a court judged North Missouri's soil—Story of a lawsuit filed by contractors against the Santa Fe railroad which showed that the soil was not hardpan.
- Aug. 11. Called him a wizard—Story of the old "yarb doctor" of Charlton County.  
When Pershing was teacher in school for negroes—Picture with short caption
- Sept. 15. Quantrill's ride to doom—Allen Palmer of Eldorado, Texas, last comrade to see Quantrill alive, tells story
- Oct. 6. He moved troops in '61—Civil War recollections of Col. William Harvey.
- Nov. 2. Twain's home a hospital. Includes a humorous story of Twain and a burglar.
- Nov. 3. A drillmaster in three wars. Sketch of Major J. B. Sansom, U. S. A., retired, of Chillicothe, Missouri.
- Nov. 19. Peace jubilee in 1869 a precedent for today. An account of the great peace jubilee held in Boston in 1869.
- Nov. 29. Interior Missouri first explored 200 years ago. Story of explorations in upper Louisiana by Charles Claude Du Tine in 1718.
- Dec. 18. W. H. Chick died at 92. Sketch of the life of man who lived in first home built in Kansas City, with descriptions of early settlement.
- Dec. 23. How the war of 1812 was waged in Missouri.
- Dec. 24. Saved from Indians by a Christmas tree. Tale of pioneer days in what is now the State of Iowa.
- Dec. 26. Three fought 1,500 Sioux. Story of pioneer life in Montana.
- Dec. 29. New Year's in the '80's. Old customs told of.
- Jan. 5. Old South still lives. Kansas City sailor tells of dinner with one of Lee's staff.
- Jan. 12. Missouri's first paper—*Missouri Intelligencer*.
- Jan. 19. Gene's brother "Rose." A sketch of the life of Roswell Field.

- Jan. 26. Lords of 211,000 acres. An account of Fred and Thomas Scully, largest farm landlords in the United States, who own 117,000 acres in Missouri.
- Feb. 7. Sketch of the life of Lieut.-Gen. John C. Bates, former Chief of Staff of the U. S. Army.
- Feb. 15. Pioneer traditions center about Van Bibber tavern; story and photo of historic tavern at Mineola, Missouri.
- Feb. 25. A Prussian King's lawsuit in Missouri; story of suit brought in Missouri court by Frederick William IV of Prussia.
- March 2. "Rubber" Wallace's rise; sketch of Hugh C. Wallace of Lexington, new ambassador to France.
- March 3. Sketch of the life of Thomas M. Johnson of Osceola, called the "Sage of the Osage."
- March 23. High cost of living back in 1846—old Missouri auction prices.
- April 19. When the boys came home in 1865. Story of grand review of troops of Sherman and Meade in Washington, D. C., in May, 1865.

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, *Times*

- Aug. 27. Battles not in history—Story of battle which took place in the Pryor Mountains in Montana on June 24, 1875, between three prospectors and 1,500 Sioux Indians.
- Sept. 7. General Crowder, the Maker of History, from Missouri; by E. M. Violette. Reprinted from the *Missouri Historical Review*.
- Sept. 9. Sketch of the life of Joseph T. Bird, pioneer merchant of Kansas City.
- Sept. 13. General Pershing is 58—With characterization of him as a boy by George N. Elliott, former teacher of Pershing.
- Oct. 21. On the Overland Route—Some types of the overland stage drivers of the '60's.
- Nov. 27. Fort Dearborn in the war of 1812. Reprinted from the *Chicago Tribune*.
- Dec. 11. When an American hero was crowned with laurel. Account of the reception of Col. Alexander Doniphan upon his return from Mexico in June, 1847.
- Jan. 11. The Immortal Harris of A Tramp Abroad. Sketch of Rev. Joseph H. Twichell, original of Mark Twain's "Harris."
- Feb. 12. Lincoln as a young man achieved success; short sketch of his early life.
- Feb. 22. Sketch of the life of Congressman W. P. Borland.
- March 14. Sketch of the life of Judge John F. Phillips.
- April 14. Sketch of the life of Judge Frank P. Dibelbiss.

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Lee's Summit, *Journal*

- Feb. 27. Sketch of the life of the late Congressman W. P. Borland.

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Jasper County. Carthage, *Press*

- Oct. 3. Sketch of the life of S. B. Griswold, pioneer merchant and Union veteran.
- Nov. 28. Sketch of the life of Henry Bowman, Union veteran.
- Feb. 6. Sketch of the life of N. D. Wolaver, Union veteran.
- Feb. 13. Sketch of the life of James M. Cravens, pioneer citizen and former State representative.

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- Joplin, *Globe*  
 Nov. 29. Missouri ranks high in war work. A short summary of State's war activities.  
 Dec. 22. Sketch of the life of John F. Reinmiller, Union veteran.
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- \_\_\_\_\_, *News-Herald*  
 Nov. 24. Roll of honor—Joplin boys who lost lives in service; also war honors.
- Jefferson County. Hillsboro, *Jefferson County Record*  
 Sept. 26. "Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen—" Some reminiscences of Jefferson County 70 years ago.  
 Fiftieth Anniversary—Short sketch of Evangelical St. Martin's Church of High Ridge, Missouri.
- Johnson County. Warrensburg, *Standard-Herald*  
 March 28. Sketch of the life of Mel P. Moody, Missouri editor.
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- \_\_\_\_\_, *Star-Journal*  
 March 21. Sketch of the life of Dr. R. D. Shannon, former State Superintendent of Schools.  
 April 8. The Kansas Redlegs; story of the year (1874) when Missouri was visited by grasshoppers.
- Lafayette County. Higginsville, *Advance*  
 Feb. 7. The *Advance* has a birthday; a few historical facts.
- 
- Lexington, *Intelligencer*  
 Nov. 8. Sketch of the life of W. G. McCausland, former county official and Confederate veteran. See also *Lexington News* for December 12.  
 Dec. 13. Sketch of the life of Samuel A. Andrew, former county official and Confederate veteran. See also *Lexington News* for December 12.
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- \_\_\_\_\_, *News*  
 Aug. 1. Sketch of the life of John P. Ardinger, Confederate veteran.  
 Sept. 12. Sketch of the life of Col. Hunter Ben Jenkins, pioneer river man.  
 Feb. 27. Founding of pioneer paper was romantic; sketch of the founding of the *Missouri Intelligencer* in 1819.  
 A printer for 70 years, with incidental description of pioneer days.
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- Odessa, *Democrat*  
 March 28. When West was wild; a pioneer Missourian tells of experience with Indians in 1852.  
 April 18. Sketch of the life of A. W. Stevens, Confederate veteran.  
 April 25. Erected in pioneer days; description of farm house built in 1843.
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- Wellington, *News*  
 Oct. 10. Pershing's boyhood index to his career—Sketch of Pershing as a youth.

Lawrence County. *Aurora, Advertiser*

- Sept. 5. Sketch of the life of George W. Rinker, pioneer citizen and former county and State official.

Lewis County. *Monticello, Lewis County Journal*

- Nov. 8. A brief history of the *Journal*

Lincoln County. *Elsberry Democrat*

- Sept. 13. Sketch of the life of Joseph A. Stephens, Union veteran.  
 Dec. 13. Recalls Louisville battle; reprinted from *Bowling Green Times*.  
 March 7. Sold papers in Civil War, remembrances of William Thompson who was paper boy in 1864. Reprinted from the *St. Louis Republic*.  
 March 14. River tragedy recalled; sinking of towboat Dictator on the Mississippi on April 2, 1876.  
 April 4. Sketch of the life of Columbus Eastin, pioneer citizen.  
 April 25. The Lincoln-Douglas debate; a comparison of it with the Lodge-Howell debate on the League of Nations.

Troy, *Free Press*

- April 4. Sketch of the life of Andrew Perkins (colored), Union veteran.

Linn County. *Brookfield, Gazette*

- Aug. 3. A watchful waiting—Civil War recollections; continued under various headings in issues of August 10, 17, 24, 31; September 7, 14, 21, 28; October 5, 12, 19, 26.  
 Nov. 16. Fighting Americans—Some comparisons with Civil War days.  
 Dec. 7. Nearing the border. Canteen work in the Civil War.  
 Dec. 21. On the battle line. Civil war reminiscences.  
 April 12. Sketch of the life of Henry C. Bargar, Union veteran.

Browning, *Leader-Record*

- March 6. Pioneer days in Linn County; reminiscences of life in 1834.

Bucklin, *Herald*

- April 25. A sale of 70 years ago—Items and prices of 1846. Reprinted from *St. Louis Republic*.

Laclede, *Blade*

- Sept. 3. The Pershing family tree—Some data regarding the ancestry of General Pershing.

Linneus, *Bulletin*

- Aug. 1. Sketch of the life of T. D. Evans, pioneer citizen and former county and State official.  
 Dec. 19. Will be 85 on Christmas day. A sketch of the life of Thomas Benton Bowyer, the first white child born in Linn County.

Linn County News

- Feb. 28. Civil War tragedy; an incident of 1864 at Brookfield. See also Chillicothe *Weekly Constitution* for March 6.

Livingston County. *Chillicothe, Weekly Tribune*

- March 5. When land was cheap in Missouri—Prices of 1898.

- Macon County. Bevier, *Appeal*  
 Aug. 10. Sketch of the life of I. S. Keith, Union veteran.
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- Macon, *Republican*  
 Jan. 10. When Bob Stewart build the "Jo" road. How Governor Stewart boosted the Hannibal and St. Joe railroad into a successful existance. Reprinted from *Utica, N. Y., Globe*.  
 Feb. 28. Four constitutional conventions held; data concerning various conventions by J. R. Letcher.  
 The oldest justice in Macon County; with sketch of Mercyville, "lost town" of Macon County.
- Madison County. Fredericktown, *Democrat-News*  
 April 17. An old newspaper; contents of the *Fredericktown Conservator* for May 29, 1868.
- Marion County. Hannibal, *Courier-Post*  
 Oct. 12. Marion County man is made Brigadier-General. Short sketch of Wm. Payne Jackson, with photo.
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- Palmyra, *Marion County Herald*  
 Nov. 27. An old time mill—Description of pioneer days.
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- Spectator*  
 Oct. 9. An incident of the Civil War.  
 Feb. 26. Constitution's makers in 1875. Reprinted from *Macon Republican*.  
 April 2. The story of Old Bethel, a communistic colony founded in Shelby County in 1845. Reprinted from *Shelbyville Herald*.  
 Missouri's coat of arms; a short history. Reprinted from *Fayette Advertiser*.  
 April 30. Mark Twain on "Female Suffrage."
- Mercer County. Princeton, *Telegraph*  
 March 8. Mormon history and settlement, by E. H. Dunlap. Reprinted From *Gallatin Democrat*.
- Miller County. Tuscumbia, *Miller County Autogram*  
 April 17. Miller County 98 years ago.
- Mississippi County. Potosi, *Journal*  
 Sept. 11. Mine La Motte closed—With some historical data.  
 Oct. 2. A more correct history—Sketch of the life of John Evens, 1797-1878.  
 Oct. 23. Sketch of the life of David R. Buckley, pioneer citizen and county official.
- Moniteau County. California, *Democrat*  
 March 6. Organized 74 years ago; some historical notes concerning Moniteau County.  
 April 10. Old attorneys at the Moniteau County bar; reminiscences of Judge Hicks and of Phillips, Vest and Hicks.

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- March 6. Attorney Wood, Monticau County's historian, talks. Stories of early days in Monticau County. *Monticau County Herald*
- Monroe County. Paris, *Mercury*  
 Nov. 8. An old time Monroe County mill; reprinted from the Mexico *Intelligencer*.  
 Feb. 28. Some Paris history; sketch of the Glenn House, Paris' oldest hotel, built in 1837.  
 March 21. The story of Old Bethel (Shelby County).
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- Sept. 6. Battles not in history—Stories of Indian fighting in Montana. Reprinted from the Kansas City *Times*. *Monroe County Appeal*
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- Monroe City, *News*  
 March 7. City is 62 years old; short historical sketch of Monroe City.  
 March 18. Used "Gott Mit Uns" as a slogan long ago. Sketch of the communistic settlement of Old Bethel in 1845. An unusual chapter in Shelby County history.
- Montgomery County. Montgomery City, *Montgomery Standard*  
 Aug. 2. Champ Clark's race for Congress. Reprinted from Clark's autobiography in *Hearst's Magazine*.
- Morgan County. Versailles, *Statesman*  
 Aug. 15. Sketch of the life of John Raines, Union veteran.  
 March 27. Boyler's mill sold; with short sketch of Morgan County landmark.
- Newton County. Neosho, *Times*  
 Feb. 13. Old time darky melodies.
- Pemiscot County. Caruthersville, *Democrat*  
 Nov. 19. Sketch of the life of Dr. Q. A. Tipton, Confederate veteran.
- Perry County. Perryville, *Perry County Republican*.  
 April 17. Sketch of the life of Emile P. Collin, Union veteran.
- Pettis County. Sedalia, *Capital*  
 Oct. 30. Sketch of the life of Frank C. Hayman, former State senator.  
 Nov. 1. A little patriot in the Civil War. An incident of '61.  
 Nov. 11. Is U. S. Hero, born in Missouri. A sketch of Col. John Henry Parker of California, Missouri.  
 Nov. 12. After Civil War. Coincidence in celebration of peace in 1918 and 1865 at Fulton.  
 Nov. 14. Sketch of the life of Prof. C. W. Robbins, founder and president of Central Business College at Sedalia.  
 Nov. 18. Pershing of Missouri—an editorial tribute. Reprinted from St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*.  
 Dec. 21. Sketch of the life of N. H. Rogers, Union veteran and former State senator.
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- March 13. Sketch of the life of Judge John F. Phillips. See also Sedalia *Capital* for March 14. *Democrat*

Pike County. Bowling Green, *Times*

- Aug. 1. Times history column—The Slicker War. Aug. 8, Courts and forms of government in early days. August 15, Battle at Ashley. Imprisonment for debt in Pike County. August 22, Supreme Court Judges from Pike County. Missouri governors who committed suicide. Early newspapers of Pike County. August 29, Governor Merriwether Lewis, his love life with Theodosia Burr, her father's acquittal of treason, his murder or suicide, which? Continued in issue of September 5. September 12, Evening Star Lodge No. 243, Independent Order of Good Templars—historical sketch. September 19, George Rogers Clark, a short sketch. Continued in issue of September 26. October 10, Pleasant memories—of pioneers of Pike County. October 17, a Pike County prairie fire. October 24, Missouri's war with the United States—some Civil War history. October 31, The Battle of Ashley.
- Aug. 8. Baptist Church history.
- Nov. 7. Duels of early Missouri days. A count of the one between Senator Benton and Charles Lucas.
- Nov. 14. The Ashley battle—a Civil War incident. See also issue of January 23.
- Nov. 21. An account of the Rector-Barton duel and the Leonard-Berry duel.
- Nov. 28. Bowling Green at the time of the Civil War. Continued in issues of December 19 and January 30.
- Dec. 5. The Copenhagen battle, November, 1862.
- Dec. 12. State Capitols.
- Dec. 26. Interesting facts of early Pike County.
- Jan. 2. Rambling reminiscences of early days.
- Jan. 9. Camp Meeting at Antioch. Reprinted from the Cumberland Presbyterian of September 25, 1902.
- Feb. 13. Old pioneers of Pike County; a list of citizens of 1822-24.
- Feb. 20. History of American land titles prior to Revolutionary War. Continued in issue of March 13.
- Feb. 27. First meeting of Athenaeum Society at Watson Seminary 35 years ago.
- March 6. An old program; Pike Academy, July 3, 1866.
- March 20. History of a pioneer settler—James Chamberlain.
- March 27. Reminiscences of Pike County.
- April 3. History of the Great Seal of Missouri. Reprinted from the *Butler Democrat*.
- April 17. Sketch of Michael J. Noyes, editor of Pike County's first newspaper (*Salt River Journal*) and former county official.

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Louisiana, *Press-Journal*

- Jan. 16. Sketch of the life of Francis Thornton Merriwether, Confederate veteran.
- March 27. Sketch of the life of Dr. R. F. Shannon, former State official.
- April 3. History of the Great Seal of Missouri; reprinted from the *Butler Democrat*.
- April 17. 59 years in ministry; reminiscences of early day churches in Missouri, by Elder E. J. Lampton.

Platte County. *Edgerton, Journal*

- Feb. 21. Sketch of the life of A. M. I. Handley, Confederate veteran.  
 April 25. A letter written 63 years ago. Gives good description of pioneer conditions in rural Missouri, together with prices of staple products in 1856.

Platte City, *Platte County Argus*

- Sept. 12. Well remembered address by R. P. C. Wilson—Memories of the 100th anniversary of Thomas Jones, who died October 1, 1888, aged 104.  
 April 24. Incidents in the life of Mrs. Missouri Norton; reminiscences of early days in Missouri.

Putnam County. *Unionville, Republican*

- Dec. 11. Sketch of the life of Myron Smith Towne, Union veteran.  
 See also Unionville, *Putnam County Journal* of December 13.

Ralls County. *New London, Ralls County Record*

- March 14. Lost town still platted; short history of Jonesburg, Monroe County. Reprinted from *Paris Mercury*.

Perry, *Enterprise*

- Aug. 1. Reminiscences by W. R. Poage—of various places and events during early days in Ralls County.  
 March 6. Some Paris history; sketch of the Glenn House at Paris. Reprinted from the *Paris Mercury*.

Randolph County. *Huntsville, Herald*

- Aug. 16. Recalls wedding of 1860—Marriage of Rev. and Mrs. J. T. Lingo.  
 Aug. 30. Missouri soldier 100 years ago; reprinted from the *Missouri Historical Review*.  
 April 4. Old timer's reminiscences; A. F. Benton recalls early days in Randolph County.

Ray County. *Lawson, Review*

- March 20. Schools (near Lawson) of 40 years ago.

Richmond, *Conservator*

- March 20. History of the Great Seal of Missouri; reprinted from the *Butler Democrat*.  
 April 17. History of the life of Judge Divelbiss.  
 Aug. 1. Account of the unveiling of the Doniphan statue, together with photograph of statue and complete address of Governor Gardner delivered on the occasion.

St. Charles County. *St. Charles, Banner-News*

- Oct. 3. St. John's Church founded in 1868—Historical data. See also *St. Charles Cosmos-Monitor* for October 2.

St. Charles, *Cosmos-Monitor*

- Sept. 4. Historical sketch of First Presbyterian Church of St. Charles, founded August 29, 1818.  
 Feb. 5. Sketch of the life of Lieut.-Gen. John Coalter Bates.

**St. Clair County.** *Appleton City, Journal*

- Jan. 30. Sketch of the life of James M. Mock, Union veteran.  
 Feb. 3. Sketch of the life of Robert N. Burns, pioneer business man and former city official.

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*Oseola, St. Clair County Democrat*

- Sept. 12. Election notice regarding compromise of railroad bonded debt of St. Clair County (Tebby & Neosho Railroad Company, 1860).  
 March 6. Sketch of the life of Thomas Moore Johnson, eminent philosopher and student. See also *Oseola St. Clair County Republican* for March 6.

**St. Louis County.** *Clayton, Argus*

- Jan. 31. Sketch of the life of Philander P. Lewis, State official.

**St. Louis City.** *Church Progress*

- Dec. 19. Special edition commemorating the 100th anniversary of the Archdiocese of St. Louis. History of the church, its activities and leaders during the century.  
 March 13. Quaint Sainte Genevieve, a colonial town of Missouri—a historical sketch, continued in issue of March 20.  
 April 10. A Palm Sunday sermon of almost a hundred years ago; delivered by Rev. Francis Niel in 1824 at the Cathedral of Bishop du Bourg.

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*Globe-Democrat*

- Nov. 3. Mississippi River barge line recalls time when stream was shining social and business highway to the gulf. Stories of river activities of 60 years ago.  
 Nov. 11. "Gatling-Gun" Parker, newest U. S. war hero, is native Missourian. Story of heroism of Col. J. H. Parker of California, Missouri.  
 Nov. 25. Sketch of the life of Thomas A. Sherwood, judge of the Missouri Supreme Court for 30 years.  
 Dec. 1. Pershing always knew best melon patch. Boyhood characterization of the General.  
 Dec. 20. Sketch of the life of Charles H. McKee, president and editor of the *Globe-Democrat*. See also the *Republic* for December 20.  
 Dec. 25. Pershing like Martel in crushing German evil, General Bliss says. Remarks of General Bliss in presenting D. S. M., awarded to General Pershing by President Wilson.  
 Dec. 29. Mercantile Library 73 years old; with short sketch of institution.  
 Jan. 5. Loretto Academy at Florissant is destroyed by fire—with some historical data.  
 Jan. 19. Prince of Wales on visit to St. Louis 58 years ago.  
 April 20. Presbyterianism began in St. Louis in 1811 when city was trading post; historical facts concerning church in St. Louis.

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*Post-Dispatch*

- Sept. 8. When St. Louis spent \$37 entertaining Lafayette.  
 Dec. 1. Motor car fatalities in St. Louis.

- Dec. 5. Missouri lands for soldier farmers. Some description of reclaimed swamp lands in Southeast Missouri.
  - Jan. 19. How St. Louis and Missouri doctors served in the war.
  - Jan. 26. Work of a St. Louis missionary. Rev. W. J. Stanton, S. J., given signal recognition.
  - Feb. 3. Clark, in eulogy of Stone, relates some interesting bits of Missouri history.
  - March 13. Sketch of the life of Judge John F. Phillips. See also *St. Louis Republic* for March 14; *Globe-Democrat* for March 14; *Star* for March 13.
  - March 16. Stories told of Judge Phillips.
  - April 20. Ann Rutledge's sister tells of Lincoln's first love.
  - April 27. Father Brennan tells of his 50 years as priest in St. Louis.
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- Republic*
- Dec. 29. (Missouri) Historical Society gets gold phonograph record of Pershing's message.
  - Jan. 12. Dr. Samuel S. Laws, whose career reads like fiction, is a hard worker of 95. A reminiscent sketch of Missouri educator.
  - Jan. 24. Sketch of the life of "Mat" Hastings, pioneer artist of Missouri. See also *Post-Dispatch* for January 24 and *Globe-Democrat* for January 24.
  - Feb. 5. Sketch of the life of Lieut-Gen. J. C. Bates.
  - Feb. 16. "The foe," first mid-west link of trans-continental rails, 60 years old and full of romance. Sketch of Hannibal & St. Joseph Railroad of 60 years ago, by Wm. Nichols.
  - March 1. Selling the Republic on trains in Civil War was real sport; reminiscences of Wm. S. Thompson.
  - March 16. Sol Franklin Smith, printer, editor and lawyer; sketch of his life.
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- Star*
- Sept. 9. Sketch of the life of Col. Hunter B. Jenkins, pioneer river captain. See also *Globe-Democrat* September 10.
  - Oct. 16. Sketch of the life of Jacob E. Meeker, United States Congressman. See also *Post-Dispatch* October 16, *Globe-Democrat* October 17, *Republic* October 17.
  - Jan. 17. History of long fight of drys to capture State.
  - Feb. 26. First suffrage league in world was founded in St. Louis 52 years ago.
- Saline County. Arrow Rock, *Statesman*
- Jan. 24. Sketch of the life of Bascom Diggs, editor of the *Statesman*.
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- Marshall, *Democrat-News*
- Sept. 19. One hundred years old—Some historical data regarding Good Hope Baptist Church.
  - Feb. 6. The fiftieth anniversary—Some historical data concerning Baptist Church in Marshall. Two memorable days; some Civil War reminiscences.
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- Slater, *News*
- Sept. 23. History of Good Hope Baptist Church.

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- \_\_\_\_\_, *Rustler*
- Aug. 16. Sketch of the life of P. C. Storts, Confederate veteran.  
 Nov. 1. Historical sketch of Richardson store, Gilliam.
- Schuyler County. Lancaster, *Excelsior*  
 Nov. 28. Sketch of the life of Winfred Melvin, editor of the *Excelsior*
- Scott County. Sikeston, *Standard*  
 Sept. 17. Pershing tells men of negro playmate—reprinted from the *Star and Stripes*.  
 Dec. 13. Early days in Missouri—Stories of early explorations.  
 Jan. 7. How the war of 1812 was waged in Missouri. Reprinted from the *Kansas City Star*.  
 Jan. 17. Royalty visited America. Account of the visit of the Prince of Wales to the United States and Missouri in 1860. Reprinted from the *Kansas City Star*.
- Shannon County. Eminence, *Current Wave*  
 Jan. 16. The Eminence, or old Slater mine—Some history. Reprinted from the *Current Wave* for January 11, 1900.
- Shelby County. Clarence, *Courier*  
 Feb. 19. Pershing and the bully; an incident in the school days of General Pershing. Reprinted from the *Dallas (Texas) News*.
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- \_\_\_\_\_, *Democrat*
- Jan. 22. The good old times of yore—Life in pioneer days.  
 Feb. 26. 60th Anniversary of Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad; some historical notes. See also the *Shelbina Shelby County News* for February 14.  
 March 26. Shelby County's Alsace-Lorraine; an incident in the early history of Monroe and Shelby Counties.
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- \_\_\_\_\_, *Torchlight*
- Oct. 11. Baptist Church was dedicated—With short history of church in Shelbina.
- Stone County. Galena, *Stone County Oracle*  
 Sept. 18. Memories of long ago—Pioneer life in the '50's.
- Texas County. Houston, *Herald*  
 Jan. 2. Sketch of the life of George W. Gross, Confederate veteran.
- Warren County. Warrenton, *Banner*  
 Aug. 16. Sketch of the life of Dr. August Henry Rickoff, former county and State official.  
 March 28. Sketch of the life of W. L. Morsey, former county official and prominent politician.
- Worth County. Grant City, *Star*  
 Aug. 22. Sketch of the life of Joseph H. Gates, Union veteran. See also *Sheridan Advance* August 22, and *Grant City Worth County Times*, August 22.









